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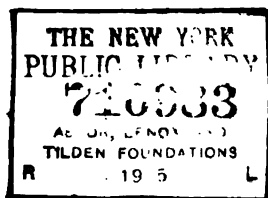
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CONTENTS OF VOL. XIV.

	Page
Three Manorial Extents of the Thirteenth Century.— <i>The Rev. William Hudson, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Editorial Secretary</i>	1
South Lopham Church.— <i>The late Rev. Canon Manning, M.A., F.S.A.</i>	57
Notes on the Palimpsest Brass of Robert Rugge, 1558, in the Church of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich.— <i>Mill Stephenson, F.S.A.</i>	63
Great Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports. Report by the Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports after their Visit to Great Yarmouth during the Free Fair, 1594.— <i>William L. Rutton, F.S.A.</i>	70
On some Ancient Stone Fragments found in Cringleford Church.— <i>The Rev. T. S. Cogswell</i>	99
Recent Discoveries in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.— <i>W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., and W. T. Bensly, LL.D., F.S.A.</i>	105
A Note Book of Sir Miles Branthwayt in 1605.— <i>Walter Rye</i>	128
On the Course of the Ickneild Way through Norfolk.— <i>J. C. Tingey, M.A., F.S.A.</i>	135
Inventories of the Parish Church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich.— <i>W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.</i>	153
Female Head-dresses exemplified by Norfolk Brasses.— <i>J. Lewis Andrd, F.S.A.</i>	242
Norwich Militia in the Fourteenth Century.— <i>The Rev. William Hudson, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Editorial Secretary</i>	263
Mannington Hall.— <i>R. J. W. Purdy</i>	321
The Hundred of Clackclose and the Civil War.— <i>Leonard G. Bolingbroke, Hon. Sec.</i>	329
Mantelpiece at Fakenham.— <i>Walter Rye</i>	341
Appendix : Extracts from Proceedings of the Committee and at General Meetings	345
Index	347
Officers, Rules, and List of Members, 1899.	
Report for 1898, read May 5th, 1899.	
Report for 1899, read April 25th, 1900.	
Report for 1900, read May 15th, 1901.	

WIOY WEM
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YRA99L

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
South Lopham Church, Plate I, North West Wall of Nave . . .	<i>to face p.</i> 57
" " " Plate II, Exterior from South West . . .	" 59
" " " Plate III, Interior looking East . . .	" 60
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket. Palimpsest Reverses of Brass of Robert Rugge, 1558 . . .	<i>between pp.</i> 64 <i>to</i> 65
Stone Fragments in Cringleford Church, Plate I. . .	<i>to face p.</i> 100
" " " " Plate II. . .	" 101
Nave of Norwich Cathedral, looking East . . .	" 105
North Aisle of Norwich Cathedral, looking West . . .	" 108
Pattern on Bishop Lyhart's Mass Vestments, Plate I. . .	" 117
" " " " Plate II. . .	" 117
Carved Head of Crosier in Bishop Lyhart's Vault (two illustrations)	" 117
Plan showing Discoveries in the Nave of Norwich Cathedral Church, 1899 . . .	" 125
Hickling Lane, Swainsthorpe, looking West from the Railway Bridge . . .	" 135
Plan showing the supposed Course of the Ickneild Way through Mulbarton and Swainsthorpe . . .	" 142
Plan shewing the supposed Course of the Ickneild Way through Stoke Holy Cross . . .	" 146
Diagram showing the Plan and suggested Ancient Arrangements of the Upper or High Vestry, St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich	<i>page</i> 179
Diagram showing the Plan and suggested Ancient Arrangements of the Nether or Lower Vestry, St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich	" 186
Head Dresses.—Margaret Braunche, Lynn, 1634 . . .	" 242
Alice and Elizabeth de Felbrigg, Felbrigg, c. 1380 . . .	" 243
Margaret Felbrigg, Felbrigg, 1416 . . .	" 245
A Lady, Stalham, c. 1450 . . .	" 246
Matilda Doughty, Metton, 1493 . . .	" 247
Agnes Green, Hunstanton, c. 1490 . . .	" 247
Johanna Clederow, New Walsingham . . .	" 248
Anne Herward, Aldborough, 1485 . . .	" 248
Elizabeth Berney, Reedham, 1474 . . .	" 249
Anne Pagrave, Barningham Northwood, 1516 . . .	" 251
Anne Duke, Frenze, 1551 . . .	" 251
Jane Blen'haysett, Frenze, 1521 . . .	" 252
Magdalen Hook, Sheringham, 1513 . . .	" 253
A Lady, New Walsingham, c. 1540 . . .	" 254
A Lady, Snettisham, c. 1570 . . .	" 254
Anne Heydon, Baconsthorpe, 1561 . . .	" 255
Margaret Hunt, Hindolvestone, 1568 . . .	" 255
Jane Coningsby, Felbrigg, 1608 . . .	" 256
Joan Braham, Frenze, 1579 . . .	" 258
Cecily Boleyn and others . . .	" 260
Agnes Symondes, Cley-next-the-Sea, 1572 . . .	" 261
Mannington, from a Map dated 1742 . . .	<i>to face page</i> 321
" " " " 1565 . . .	" 324
" Hall . . .	" 325
" Hall, Interior . . .	" 326
Mantelpiece at Fakenham . . .	" 341



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Sheriffhales Vicarage, Newport, Salop
- Middleton, Charles Holkham, Norfolk
- Mildmay, Rev. A. G. St. John, M.A., Southorpe
- Miles, John Caley
Norfolk Square, Great Yarmouth
- Millard, Rev. Jeffrey Watson, M.A.
Shimpling Rectory, Scole
- Mills, Mrs. Surrey Street, Norwich
- Minns, Rev. George William Walter, LL.B.,
F.S.A. The Cliff, Weston, Southampton

- Morse, T. H., F.R.C.S.
All Saints' Green, Norwich
- Mottram, Mrs. Alfred
Heigham Hall, Norwich
- Mottram, James
Bank House, Norwich
- Musgrave, Rev. A. G., M.A., Horsford, Norf.
Horsford, Norfolk
- Musgrave, Mrs.
- Nelson, Rev. Edward Hamilton, M.A.
Necton Rectory, Swaffham
- Nevill, The Ven. Henry Ralph, M.A., Arch-
deacon of Norfolk, *V.P.*, The Close, Norwich
- Nichols, Mrs.
Surrey Street, Norwich
- Nightingale, Mrs. S.
Shaddingfield Lodge, Great Yarmouth
- Nightingale, Samuel
Somerton, Yarmouth
- Norfolk, His Grace the Duke of, E.M., K.G.
Patron, Norfolk House, St. James' Square,
London
- Norgate, C. B. le Grys
East Dereham
- Norris, W. E.
Wood Norton, Norfolk
- North, Charles
Bougham Hall, Swaffham
- Norwich, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop
of, Patron
The Palace, Norwich
- Norwich, The Very Rev. the Dean of, *V.P.*
Norwich
- Norwich—The Library of the Dean and
Chapter of Norwich
The Close, Norwich
- Norwich—Library of the C.E.Y.M. Society
Norwich
- Norwich Mercury, Proprietors of the
Norwich
- Nugent, Sir E. C., Bart.
West Harling Hall, Thetford
- Nugent, Rev. Edmund Frederick, M.A.
Trenythron, Par Station, Cornwall
- O'Farrell, C.
White Horse Plain, Great Yarmouth
- Olley, Henry
28, Regent Street, Great Yarmouth
- Orams, Edward
Unthank's Road, Norwich
- Orde, Charles Somerville
Hopton, Great Yarmouth
- Orford, The Right Hon. the Earl of
Mannington Hall, Aylsham
- Page, Philip Samuel
Norwich
- Paget, Sir James, Bart., M.D., F.R.S.
1, Harewood Place, Hanover Square
London
- Palgrave, Robert Harry Inglis, F.R.S.
Belton, Great Yarmouth
- Palmer, Ambrose J., Haddiscoe Hall, Norwich
- Palmer, Frederick Danby, M.S.A., *Yarmouth*
Hon. Sec., 88, Hall Quay, Great Yarmouth
- Palmer, W. Danby
Shrublands, Southtown, Great Yarmouth
- Panter, Rev. Charles Richard, LL.D.
Wickhampton
- Partridge, Charles S.
Stowmarket
- Partridge, Rev. Walter Henry, B.A.
Caton Rectory, Attleborough
- Pattin, H. Cooper, M.B.
Norwich
- Pearce, Miss M.
East Dereham
- Palham, Rev. Canon Sidney, M.A.
18, Chapel Field, Norwich
- Pemberton, Major
Mousehold House
- Penrice, Rev. Charles Berners, M.A.
Plumstead Parva Rectory, Norwich
- Perfitt, R. F.
Victoria Road, Diss
- Perowne, The Ven. Thomas Thomason, B.D.,
Archdeacon of Norwich, *V.P.*
Redenhall Rectory, Harleston
- Petre, Mrs.
Westwick
- Phillips, Rev. Forbes
Gorleston
- Pigot, Rev. W. Melville, M.A.
Eaton
- Pigot, C. B.
Norwich
- Pitt, Rev. R. W., M.A.
Saxlingham
- Pitt, Mrs.
Saxlingham
- Pitts, R. E.
Copt Hall, Springfield, Chelmsford
- Pixley, F. W.
23, Linden Gardens, London, W.
- Poix, Edmond de
Broome Place, Bungay
- Pollard, J. E. T.
Thorpe
- Pollard, Rev. Laurence Giffard, B.A.
Thorpe Mansions, Norwich
- Pomeroy, E. B.
Wymondham
- Poock, J. A.
Tombland, Norwich
- Poole, Rev. J. G.
Barton Turf
- Powell, Sir Francis Sharp, Bart., M.P.
F.R.G.S.
Horton Old Hall, Bradford
- Powell, Peter
Brunstead, Stalham
- Pratt, Rev. Dashwood, B.A.
Barney Vicarage, East Dereham
- Pratt, Edward Roger Murray
Ryston Hall, Downham, Norfolk
- Preston, Arthur W., F.R.Met.Soc.
Bradeston, Norwich
- Preston, Richard
Tonbridge
- Pridgeon, W. R.
King's Lynn
- Prior, Mrs. Leathes
Christ Church Road, Norwich
- Procter, Rev. Francis, M.A.
Witton Vicarage, North Walsham
- Purdy, Robert John Woods
Woodgate, Aylsham
- Purdy, T. W.
Jesus College, Cambridge
- Pym, Mrs. Radford
Chapel Field House, Norwich
- Radford, Rev. L. B., M.A.
Fornett St. Peter
- Ram, Rev. E.
Norwich
- Raven, Rev. Canon John James, D.D., F.S.A.
Fressingfield Vicarage, Harleston
- Reeve, Simms
Brancaester Hall
- Rice, Edgar
Costessey, Norwich
- Rich, Sir Charles H. Stuart, Bart.
Levy's Dene, Marrow, Guildford
- Roe, Rev. R. Gordon, M.A.
Blo' Norton Rectory
- Rogers, Rev. Canon J. E., M.A.
Vicarage, Gt. Yarmouth
- Rolfe, Neville
H.B.M.'s Consul, Naples
- Rosebery, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.G.,
V.P.
54, Berkeley Square, London, W.

- Rowland, George James
14, Parkdale, Wolverhampton
- Rowley, Rev. H.S., M.A., Wretham, Thetford
- Rudd, Walter R., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich
- Rumbold, C. Dene Side, Great Yarmouth
- Rump, Alfred E.
Rampant Horse Street, Norwich
- Rye, Walter 16, Golden Square, London
- Scott, Rev. H. von Essen, M.A., Eastbourne
- Scott, Walter 29, Grove Road, Norwich
- Sillis, Thomas W.
63, York Road, Great Yarmouth
- Sims, John
25, South Market Road, Great Yarmouth
- Smith, Miss A. G., Albemarle Road, Norwich
- Smith, Rev. Henry, M.A.
Hardwick House, Lynn
- Southwell, T., F.Z.S. Norwich
- Sparks, Henry James
East Bilney Hall, Norfolk
- Spelman, Clement Charles Rix
Unthank's Road, Norwich
- Spelman, Henry Unthank's Road, Norwich
- Steel, Mrs. J. H. D.
Holly Mount, Blackheath Hill, Greenwich
- Stringfield, G. W.
King Street, Great Yarmouth
- Suckling, Capt. T., R.N. Ramsey, Hants
- Sydney Free Library, N.S.W.
- Tacon, Rev. Richard John, M.A.
Bolleby Rectory, Great Yarmouth
- Tancock, Rev. Osborne William, M.A.
Little Waltham Rectory, Chelmsford
- Taylor, Francis Diss
- Taylor, Frederic Oddin, Tombland, Norwich
- Taylor, Miss Starston, Harleston, Norfolk
- Teasdel, J. E., Queen Street, Great Yarmouth
- Teasdel, Robert Henry
74, Southtown, Great Yarmouth
- Teasdel, Mrs.
81, Nelson Road Central, Great Yarmouth
- Teasdel, Miss Great Yarmouth
- Thursby, Rev. Herbert Edward
Castle Rising Rectory
- Tingey, F. H. North Runcton
- Tingey, J. O., M.A., F.S.A.
Surrey Street, Norwich
- Todd, John Timothy Chapel Field, Norwich
- Tourtal, Rev. W. E., M.A. Norwich
- Utting, Stephen William Thorpe, Norwich
- Valentine, F. Castle Rising
- Valpy, Rev. Julius John Culpeper, B.A.
Elsing Rectory, East Dereham
- Vores, Mrs. Herbert
South Green, East Dereham
- Wainwright, Mrs. S. Norwich
- Walker, Ernest, Southtown, Great Yarmouth
- Walker, Rev. John, M.A.
Bradwell Rectory, Great Yarmouth
- Walker, T. S. Berry Hall, Walsingham
- Walpole, Spencer C.
10, Strathmore Gardens, Kensington, W.
- Walsingham, The Right Hon. Lord, F.R.S.,
F.P. Merton Hall, Thetford
- Walter, John Henry Drayton, Norwich
- Wansbrough, Rev. Henry Arthur, M.A.
Walsingham Parva, Norfolk
- Waring, W. Tombland, Norwich
- Warren, Geo. Poole Norwich
- Waters, John Tolver
Nelson Road South, Great Yarmouth
- Waters, William George
7, Mansfield Street, Portland Place, London
- Watt, Rev. George Deans Dundas, M.A.
2, Park Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.
- West, Thomas Scole
- Weyer, W. R. Norwich
- Whayman, Horace W.
Orford, Wickham Market, Suffolk
- White, Rev. Charles Harold Evelyn, F.S.A.
Rampton Rectory, Cambridge
- White, Major T. Sall
- White, Capt. A. V. St. John Sall
- Whitehead, Rev. Edward Ernest Wolf, M.A.
Reedham, Great Yarmouth
- Whitney, Rev. J. P. Milton, Cambridge
- Williams, Charles
Prince of Wales' Road, Norwich
- Williams, Rev. E. N. G., M.A.
Huish Rectory, Pewsey, Wilts.
- Wilson, Miss K. K., Beech Cottage, Swaffham
- Wood, Colonel, C.B.
96, Thorpe Road, Norwich
- Woods, Sir Albert W., Garter King of Arms,
College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
- Woodward, E. R. * Norwich
- Worledge, Edward William, M.A.
Albert Square, Great Yarmouth
- Worthington, Miss Janet Lowestoft
- Wright, W. E. West Hall, Middleton, Lynn
- Wrigley, R. Regent Road, Great Yarmouth
- Young, Rev. R. R., M.A. Acle
- Youngman, A. W.
93, St. George's Road, Great Yarmouth
- Youngman, Miss Attleborough

REGULATIONS.

1. THAT the Society shall be called "THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

2. That the objects of the Society shall be to collect the best information on the Arts and Monuments of the County, including Primeval Antiquities; Numismatics; Architecture, Civil and Ecclesiastical; Sculpture; Painting on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and Customs; Descent; Genealogy; Ecclesiastical History or Endowments, and Charitable Foundations; Records, &c., and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

3. That the Officers of the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and a Committee of eighteen.

4. That all such Antiquities as shall be given to the Society, shall be presented to the Norwich Museum.

5. That six of the Committee shall go out annually in rotation, but with the power of being re-elected; and also that the Committee shall supply any vacancy that may occur in their number during the year.

6. That the President, Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer and Secretaries, be elected at the Annual General Meeting for one year, with power of being re-elected, and shall be ex-officio Members of the Committee.

7. That any person desirous to become a Member of this Society, shall be proposed by at least two of its Members, at either a General or Committee Meeting.

8. That every Member shall pay the annual Subscription of Seven Shillings and Sixpence, to be due in advance on the first of January.

9. That distinguished Antiquaries, not connected with the County, may be elected as Honorary Members, at any of the General or Committee Meetings of the Society, on being proposed by two of the Members.

10. That four General Meetings shall be held in the year, at such times and places as shall be from time to time determined by the Committee.

11. That such short Papers shall be read at the Meetings as the Committee shall previously approve of, and that the Meetings shall conclude with the exhibition of, and discussion on, such subjects of interest or curiosity as Members may produce.

12. That the Committee may, on such occasions as they shall think necessary, call Special Meetings by advertisement.

13. That the Accounts shall be audited, and a statement of the affairs of the Society shall be given at the first General Meeting in the year.

14. That the Committee shall meet from time to time, to receive information and make such arrangements as may be necessary, preparatory to the General Meetings. That three shall be a quorum, and that the Chairman shall have the casting vote.

15. That a Short Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Society shall be laid before the General Meeting, and that a list of Members shall be printed from time to time.

16. That all papers deposited in the archives of this Society shall be considered the property of the Society: but that it shall be optional with the Committee to receive communications from Members, who are writing with other objects in view, and to return the same, after perusal, to the author.

17. That the Committee shall have the power of making By-Laws, which shall remain in force till the next General Meeting.

18. That the Committee shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings, at the Society's expense, as may be deemed worthy of being printed; that each Subscriber shall be entitled to a copy of such publication, either gratis or at such price as the funds of the Society will admit, from the time of his admission; and to such further copies, and previous publications (if there be any in hand), at a price to be fixed by the Committee; that the author of such published papers shall be entitled to fifteen copies, gratis; and that the Committee shall have the power to make such arrangements for reprinting any of the parts of the Society's Papers, when out of print, as they may deem most conducive to the interest of the Society.

19. That the Society in its pursuits shall be confined to the County of Norfolk.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE FOR 1898.

READ MAY THE 5TH, 1899.

THE record of the year which has passed since our last Annual Meeting, though otherwise satisfactory, has been marked by more than one untoward event. The Annual Meeting was held as usual in the Guildhall, Norwich, on Wednesday, the 4th May, when Captain King, R.N., read a paper on "Armour and Arms found in Churches," which was supplemented by some further remarks on the subject by Mr. W. H. Jones; while Mr. G. A. King exhibited a series of drawings of the diapering on the robes and vestments of rich baudekin of the saints on the rood-screen at Ranworth Church. In the afternoon the Members assembled in the Church of St. Michael Coslany, which was ably described by Mr. W. H. Jones. An interesting specimen of domestic architecture, now forming part of the Rosemary Tavern and known as the Pilgrims' Hall, was next visited. In drawing attention to its principal features, Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke referred to a similar hall which had then recently been pulled down, situate in Watson's Yard,

King Street, photographs of which he had had taken for the Society prior to its destruction. From Pilgrims' Hall the Members proceeded to St. Mary Coslany Church. It was sad to see the state of ruin into which this fine building has been allowed to fall, and the hope was expressed that it would soon be re-opened for the benefit of the large population amidst which it stands. Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke read a few notes he had collected concerning the Church, and it is satisfactory to record that this visit elicited an offer to transcribe the registers for the Society from Mr. E. A. Tillett, who is so well qualified to do so; an offer which, with the kind permission of the sequestrators, was gladly accepted.

On the 15th and 16th June the neighbourhood of King's Lynn was visited by some thirty Members of the Architectural and Archæological Society of the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham, under the local guidance of Mr. E. M. Beloe, jun. Interesting architectural descriptions of the churches visited were read by the Rev. A. F. Sutton, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, while Castle Acre and Castle Rising were inspected under the able guidance of Dr. Jessopp and Mr. E. M. Beloe, sen., respectively. The Mayor of Lynn entertained the visitors at a *conversazione* in the Town Hall on the evening of the 15th June.

The disastrous fire which occurred at the Norfolk and Norwich Library on the 1st August, unfortunately destroyed a very large quantity of the Society's stock of publications; but the Society has every reason to be thankful that, beyond some damage by water, the valuable collection of transcripts of registers and other MSS. and its library of archæological books and proceedings escaped. The property was insured in the Norwich Union Fire Office, from whom £250 have been received in fair settlement of the Society's claims. All the property of

the Society, including the salvage stock of original papers, has been removed to temporary quarters, and it is hoped, when permanent premises have again been obtained, steps will be taken to render the Society's books more available for the use of Members than has hitherto been the case.

On the 16th August the Society's Summer Excursion took place in the neighbourhood of East Dereham, the Members assembling at North Elmham, where excellent papers were read by the Rev. A. G. Legge, who most kindly came from Hampshire to attend the meeting. The Churches of Brisley, Gressenhall, and Scarning were also visited in the morning, Dr. Jessopp pointing out the principal features at the two latter places. After luncheon at East Dereham and a hurried visit to the Church, the party proceeded to Elsing Church and Hall, being driven back to Dereham in time to catch their trains.

The Society records with satisfaction the progress of the work of reparation of Norwich Cathedral, and especially the unflaking of the nave during the last six months from its numerous coats of whitewash, through the liberality of Mr. Samuel Hoare, M.P. for Norwich, and Mrs. Hoare. The unflaking has been carefully done with due regard to the preservation of the Norman tooling, and has brought to light many interesting features of early work and evidence of the existence in pre-Reformation days of screens, altars, and chapels.

The Society desires to congratulate the Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A., and Mr. J. C. Tingey, F.S.A., on the completion of their labours in preparing the valuable catalogue of the records of the city of Norwich, as arranged in the Muniment Room of the Castle Museum; and also the City Committee of the Norwich Corporation on the publication of the same.

Part 3 of Volume XIII. (which being the concluding part of a volume was accompanied by a full index) has

been issued to the Members for the year 1897; and the first part of the next volume will, it is hoped, soon be in the hands of the subscribers for the year 1898.

Our obituary notices must begin with deep regret at the death of the Rev. Charles Robertson Manning, F.S.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich, who joined the Society soon after its commencement, and for nearly fifty years occupied a prominent position amongst its leading members. From January, 1852, till April, 1895, he acted as one of the two Hon. Secretaries. On resigning his office at the latter date he was appointed a Vice-President of the Society, and in that capacity he took the chair at a Committee Meeting only a few days before his final illness. His antiquarian tastes early developed themselves, and, as an undergraduate at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1846, he published a list of the monumental brasses remaining in England. His contributions to our Society were most numerous and valuable. His first communication is in Volume III. of our "Original Papers," and every volume from that time has contained one or more of his papers. The index to the first ten volumes, which the Society owes to him, shows under his name the great variety of subjects with which he dealt—seals, church architecture, heraldry, fonts, coins, monumental brasses, and, latterly, the church plate of Norfolk and Suffolk. His knowledge of the county and its antiquities made him an invaluable guide in the arrangement and execution of the summer excursions, which form so useful and popular a feature of the work of a local archæological society. Canon Manning was also a prominent Member of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain, as well as a frequent exhibitor of antiquities at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1886, on the recommendation of the Council

honoris causa. He was forty-two years rector of Diss, where he died on February 7th, 1899, in the fulness of years. His kindly disposition and genial manners endeared him to all who knew him, and your Committee gratefully place on record their high appreciation of his services faithfully and ungrudgingly rendered for so long a period to this Society. The Society has also to deplore the deaths of the Rev. Bowyer Vaux, its last surviving Original Member; Mr. J. J. Colman, to whose munificence several local archæological works owe their publication; Mr. H. F. Butcher, whose kind hospitality on one of our Norwich rambles will be in the recollection of many of our Members; Mr. F. E. Watson, at one time a Member of the Committee; Mr. J. R. Bulwer, Q.C., whose father, the Rev. James Bulwer, was so active a Member in early years; Mr. H. S. Patteson, and Canon Du Port.

The retiring Members of the Committee are Mr. Charles Candler, Mr. H. J. Green, Canon Hinds Howell, Mr. Hamon le Strange, Mr. F. Danby Palmer, and Mr. J. C. Tingey, F.S.A., all of whom are eligible for re-election, but the Committee recommend the appointment of Mr. le Strange as a Vice-President, in the place of the late Canon Manning, and suggest the appointment of Mr. W. H. Jones on the Committee, in the place of Mr. le Strange.

Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.—The Treasurer's Account for the year 1898.

1898.		1898.	
	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
To Balance at Messrs. Barclay's Bank:—		By Mr. A. H. Goose, balance of bill for Vol. XIII., pt. 3, and for Stationery, Circulars, and Postage ..	23 12 10
General Account ..	35 16 4	Compiling Index to Vol. XIII. ..	2 2 0
Deposit Account ..	86 19 2	Illustrations—	
" " (Boileau		Mr. Beloe's Paper ..	6 19 1
Legacy) ..	100 0 0	Mr. Shrubsole, for photographs of Edinburgh Tavern, Dove Street ..	2 6 0
Subscriptions—			
1 for 1894 ..	0 7 6	Expenses of Meetings ..	9 6 1
3 for 1896 ..	1 2 6	Postage Stamps ..	4 7 2
20 for 1896 ..	7 10 0	Insurance ..	2 17 0
47 for 1897 ..	17 12 6	Norfolk and Norwich Library, Rent to Michaelmas, 1898 ..	0 8 0
184 for 1898 ..	69 0 0	Messrs. Stead and Simpson, Rent ..	1 1 0
10 for 1899 ..	3 16 0	Gratuity to Guildhall Keeper ..	16 0 0
Sale of Publications—	99 7 6	Assistant Secretary's Salary ..	0 10 0
Original Papers ..	1 2 6	Balance in hand—	12 12 0
Emblems ..	1 10 0	General Account ..	71 1 3
Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society, in satisfaction of claim ..	2 12 6	Deposit Account ..	342 0 1
Messrs. Barclays, Interest on Deposit Account ..	260 0 0	" " (Boileau	
		Legacy) ..	100 0 0
			513 1 4
			£579 16 5

*Examined and found correct, May 5th, 1899,
PHILIP BACK, Auditor.*

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1899.

READ APRIL 25TH, 1900.

If the year 1899 did not bring with it the exciting incidents which characterized the preceding year, at least the Society may be congratulated that it escaped the misfortunes which those incidents involved.

The annual meeting was held in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall on the 5th May, the chair being occupied by General Bulwer in the unavoidable absence of the president. The Rev. T. S. Cogswell read a paper on some ancient stone fragments found in Cringleford Church during its recent restoration, while the Rev. H. J. D. Astley drew attention to some discoveries he had made in the church of East Rudham. Mr. Cogswell's paper appeared in the Part of our Society's Transactions issued to the subscribers for the year 1898. In the afternoon a visit was paid to the nave of Norwich Cathedral, when Dr. Bensly gave a full account of the various discoveries made during the progress of the work of unflaking the stonework. This paper will appear with illustrations in the forthcoming part of the Society's papers.

The summer excursion took place in delightful weather on the 20th July, the picturesque country west of Cromer being the district selected. After a short halt at Cromer Church, the party proceeded to Beeston Church, where Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke read a few notes on Runton and Beeston, extracted for the most part from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Runton Stubbes. A paper was contributed by Mr. E. M. Hansell, on the Beeston Priory Sheep Walk, the Priory itself being the next place visited. Luncheon having been served at the Grand Hotel, Sheringham, the members were next driven to Weyborne Priory, where a most interesting paper was read by Mr. W. H. Jones on the conventual buildings. From Weyborne the party drove to Sheringham Church, and thence to Felbrigg Hall, where the members were most hospitably entertained by Mr. R. W. Ketton. The necessity of returning to Cromer to catch the trains unfortunately prevented the party from inspecting the celebrated brasses in Felbrigg Church or the curious pits at Aylmerton.

While during the past year several interesting old houses have been removed in order to widen here and there the streets of Norwich for the purpose of the new tramways, some compensation may be found in the picturesque views opened up of the Castle from Orford Hill and of St. Michael-at-Plea Church from St. Andrew's Broad Street.

It is with regret that the Society learns that the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society contemplates the destruction of a portion of the palace of the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, with a view to the erection of additional offices on the site.

The subscribers for the year 1898 have received the first Part of the 14th volume of the Society's Transactions, and the second Part is now in preparation for issue to the subscribers for 1899.

Although no portion of our own county was visited, yet

mention should be made of the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in the sister county of Suffolk, which was attended by many of our own members. With Ipswich as its centre, the Institute made excursions to all the most interesting places in the neighbourhood. The Yarmouth branch of our Society, inspired doubtless by the visit of the Institute, held an excursion during the autumn to Framlingham and Dennington.

The Norfolk and Norwich Library having once more taken possession of its old premises on Guildhall Hill, Norwich, after the disastrous fire of the previous year, our Society's library and stock of transactions are now once more stored in their old quarters. A new book-case has been purchased, and our books are now accessible to our members in the committee room of the Library. Several series of publications have been re-bound, and others are now in the binder's hands.

During the past year the Society has lost several members by death, among whom we may mention the Rev. Canon Hinds Howell, for many years a member of the Committee; the Rev. Canon H. Browne, a frequent attendant at our excursions; and Mr. W. J. J. Bolding, who possessed a most extensive knowledge of the archæology of the district in and around Weyborne.

Mr. R. J. W. Purdy has been elected to fill the place on the Committee vacant by the death of Canon Hinds Howell. The retiring members of the Committee are Dr. Bately, Sir Peter Eade, Mr. Bosworth W. Harcourt, Mr. E. Evans Lombe, Canon Raven, and Mr. Walter Rye, all of whom are eligible for re-election.

Dr. Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society.—The Treasurer's Account. Cr.

1899.			1899.		
	£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.
To Balance at Messrs. Barclay's Bank :—			By A. H. Goose, Bill for Vol. XIV., Part 1, and for Stationery, Circulars, and Postages		
General Account	71	1 3	" A. H. Goose, on Account for Vol. XIV., Part 2, and Stationery, &c.		54 12 0
Deposit Account	842	0 1	" Illustrations		50 0 0
" "Boileau Legacy"	100	0 0	" Mr. Mill Stephenson's Paper	3	0 0
To Subscriptions :—			Canon Manning's Paper	19	6
4 for 1896	1	10 0	A. E. Cox, for Photographs of Old Houses demolished in King Street ..	1	16 0
22 for 1897	8	5 0	Expenses of Meetings	24	16 6
86 for 1898	82	5 0	Postage Stamps and Telegram	2	11 6
186 for 1899	78	2 6	Advertisements	3	19 0
9 for 1900	8	7 6	Insurance	1	0 0
1 Life Subscription	5	0 0	Stead & Simpson, Rent to 30th Sept., 1899	0	9 0
To Sale of Publications :—			Gratuity to Guildhall Keeper	13	6 8
Original Papers .. ..	...	...	Assistant Secretary's Salary	0	10 0
To Messrs. Barclay's :—			Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies, 2 years	13	13 0
Interest on Deposit Account .. ..	...	...	J. Holmes, for new Book Case	2	0 0
			S. T. Townsend, for re-mounting and framing Old Maps of Norwich, injured by fire	16	0 0
			W. Haydon, for re-binding Books injured by fire	2	12 0
			Copy of Third Register of St. Mary Coalway, Norwich	6	14 7
			Balance in hand :—	1	1 0
			General Account .. ..	...	...
			Deposit Account .. ..	...	...
			" "Boileau Legacy" .. ..	...	...
				454	19 4
				2648	3 7

Examined and found correct, April 24th, 1900.
PHILIP BACON, Auditor.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1900.

READ MAY 15TH, 1901.

WHILE during the twelve months which have elapsed since our last annual meeting the members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, in common with the nation at large, have mourned the death of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, the Society has suffered a more personal loss by the lamented death of its President, the late Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart., F.S.A. If not an original member, Sir Francis Boileau was at least one of the earliest to be enrolled within the ranks of the Society, and had ever since evinced a very keen and ardent interest in all archæological pursuits, a taste which he undoubtedly inherited from his father, the late Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., who was the first President of our Society. In 1889 the late Dean Goulburn retired from the office of President, and Sir Francis Boileau was unanimously elected his successor, a position to which he has since been annually re-elected. Not only did he take an active share in the work of the Society, but he was a very regular attendant at the committee meetings

and excursions held during his term of office. For some time past his health had gradually been failing, and the Society has on several recent occasions had to deplore his absence from meetings on this account. His death occurred on December 2nd, 1900, and at a meeting held a few days afterwards the Committee expressed, on behalf of the Society, their deep sympathy with Lady Boileau and her family.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on the morning of April 25th in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, Norwich, the chair being taken by General Bulwer, Vice-President. At the conclusion of the ordinary business the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary of the British Archæological Society, read an interesting paper on the subject of the Briefs recorded in the two earliest Register Books of the Parish of Syderstone. In the afternoon the members assembled in the Church of St. Gregory, where the Rev. J. W. Hoste read a carefully-compiled paper upon the church. Thence the members proceeded to the Church of St. John Maddermarket, where they were received by the Rev. W. Busby, who quoted some interesting extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts, commencing with the year 1557. A visit was afterwards paid to the Strangers' Hall, which had recently been purchased by Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, at whose hands it has undergone a careful reparation. Here Mr. Bolingbroke read a paper on the history of the Hall, after which the members visited the several rooms and partook of afternoon tea.

In the evening of the same day a lecture was given at the Strangers' Hall, in conjunction with the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society, by Dr. Plowright of Lynn on the subject of "Woad."

The summer excursion of the Society took place on August 9th, when a large number of members and their

friends attended, despite the inclemency of the weather. After a brief visit to Aylsham Church, upon the history of which the Rev. Canon J. Gurney Hoare, the Vicar, read some interesting notes, the party drove to Heydon Hall, where they received a cordial welcome from General and Mrs. Bulwer. General Bulwer here read a short historical account of the Hall, and drew attention to the valuable collections of portraits, armour, &c., with which the Hall is enriched. The members then adjourned to Heydon Church, on which a scholarly paper was read by the Rector, the Rev. B. J. Armstrong. After luncheon at Saxthorpe and a hasty visit to the church, the carriages proceeded to Mannington Hall, the seat of the Earl of Orford, where a paper was read by Mr. R. J. W. Purdy, which it is hoped will appear in the next part of the Society's Transactions, and the members and their friends partook of the kind hospitality provided by the Earl and Countess. On the return journey to Aylsham a short visit was paid to Blickling Hall, where the party was most kindly received by the Marchioness of Lothian.

On September 6th, the Great Yarmouth Branch of the Society had an Excursion to Fressingfield Church and Wingfield Church and Castle, which were ably described by Canon Raven, D.D., F.S.A.

Part 2 of Vol. XIV. of the Society's Original Papers has been issued to the members for the year 1899, and the concluding Part of the volume will soon, it is expected, be in the hands of the members for 1900.

In addition to the loss of Sir Francis Boileau, the Society has to deplore the deaths of several other members, notably, those of the Ven. Archdeacon Nevill and Mr. Philip Back. The former was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, and was the author in early life of an interesting pamphlet on the subject of Kett's Rebellion. Mr. Back, who for many years had acted as Hon. Auditor

of the Society, was an active member and a constant attendant at its meetings and excursions. His hospitality to the members when they visited his interesting mansion, Curat's House, in the Haymarket, Norwich, will long be remembered by those who were present. By the death of Mr. G. C. Eaton another familiar face will be missed from our meetings, while the late Mr. Pridgeon of Lynn, an old member of the Society, was Mayor of Lynn on the occasion of the Society's visit in 1892, and most hospitably entertained the members.

During the past year further progress has been made with the re-binding of volumes in the Society's library, and special mention should be made of the kindness of our sister society in Suffolk in completing, as far as it lay in its power to do so, our series of its Proceedings.

The retiring members of the committee are Mr. E. M. Beloe, F.S.A.; the Rev. Edmund Farrer, F.S.A.; the Rev. J. W. Millard; Mr. James Mottram; Mr. R. H. I. Palgrave, F.R.S.; and Mr. Charles Williams, all of whom are eligible for re-election.

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**ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS**

Three Manorial Extents of the Thirteenth Century.

COMMUNICATED BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HUDSON, M.A., F.S.A.,

Hon. Editorial Secretary.

1.—CHANGES IN MANORIAL ECONOMY.

THE general principles which governed the economy of a manor under the feudal system have been so frequently and so fully described¹ that a few introductory words will suffice to sum them up, so far as they are touched upon in this Paper.

A feudal manor was an agricultural organisation centering in a lord who held dominion over the whole, and to whom, in theory, all the land belonged. Some portion of it he held in his own hands, and this was specially called his "demesne." The arable land was divided into common fields, usually three, one of which was used for autumn or winter sowing, another for spring sowing, and the third remained fallow. These fields were held in various ways by the manorial tenants, and even included portions of the lord's own demesne. The holdings were not separate plots, but strips of land scattered about the common fields, the whole being subject

¹ The fullest discussion of the various questions illustrated by these Extents will be found in Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, Oxford, 1892.

to common rules of agriculture, and worked by combined labour of the tenants. In return for their holdings the tenants were bound to cultivate with their own labour the lord's demesne lands, and to supply produce from their own lands towards the maintenance of his household.

There were also pastures, and commons, and woods, over which the lord and his tenants had proportionate rights of pasturage and commonage and pannage, and generally there was more or less waste land which was gradually being brought into cultivation, chiefly at the lord's expense.

In the earliest times the arable lands, or strips, were divided into regular sets of shares. The larger holdings consisted of a plough land of (usually) 120 acres; or half a plough land of 60 acres; or a quarter (called a virgate) of 30 acres. The smaller tenants held shares which differed greatly in size on different manors, containing 6, 8, 10, or 15 acres each.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries very considerable modifications had been taking place in the normal arrangements of a manor. It is in the observation of the working of these changes that documents such as those here presented have a value, not only in their own locality, but also as contributions towards the general history of social and economic progress.

These changes may, in general terms, be summed up under two heads: firstly, the substitution of money payments both for labour services and for rents in kind; secondly, the breaking up of the regular holdings into most irregular, and, in numerous cases, most minute subdivisions. The first of these may be said to have been due to external influences, to economic changes spreading throughout the whole country; while the second sprang rather from within, and perhaps mainly from the growth of population.

The substitution of money for labour was a change which was to the interest both of the lord and the tenant. The lord, who probably owned several manors, wanted money to meet the king's demands for scutage, aids, and other exactions; as well as for his own personal expenses and the supplying of himself and his household with all the improved materials and conveniences which increased facilities for trade and commerce had brought within his reach. Hence the growth of rent-paying tenants. Some of these were freemen¹ whose lands had been drawn into the manorial system by the greater security thus obtained, and by the pressure of Norman government working out its legal and fiscal theories of organisation. Others were emancipated serfs or favourite servants who, as a reward, had obtained a piece of the lord's demesne. Others, again, held lands which had been reclaimed from the waste,² and which the lord claimed the right to deal with as his own. All these freeholders, or holders of free tenements, rendered little else than a money rent for their lands. Again, the "customary" tenants, those who held lands which were bound to certain services, had begun to commute these services for money. Sometimes, apparently, the lord might choose which he would take. But, whether that were so or no, we find in many Manorial Extents every service valued at an equivalent money commutation.³ The growth of towns (in the modern sense of the word) and markets increased the facilities for turning produce into money. A "villain" could sell his produce in the

¹ On the possible origin of various kinds of free holdings in connection with a manor, see Vinogradoff, p. 324 et seq.

² The technical name for these reclaimed pieces was "*terra assarta*," "*novum assartum*."

³ It must be remembered that the value set against a labour is not a wage to the worker, but the forfeit payable to the lord in lieu of the work due to him by custom.

neighbouring town, settle his obligations with his lord on an understood scale of payment, and for the rest be practically his own master. There remained, it is true, certain feudal obligations of heriots, reliefs, merchet,¹ and arbitrary fines which at times bore hardly upon him, but these were not incidents of his ordinary life.

Turning to the other change, the subdivision of the older and more equalised holdings, we may easily see how the money-paying tendency would act in this direction also. The older system, still in evidence on the manorial records, took no notice of the varying size of families. A childless man and his wife might hold 10 acres, and his neighbour with several able-bodied sons might have a similar holding. They both came under the same rule of having to do so many autumn works, so much reaping at harvest time and so on. But when money payments began to replace or at least be an alternative for labour services, it was to the lord's interest and that of the tenants to subdivide the holdings. One or another of B's sons might well be allowed to take a portion of A's holding, which A. could not work alone, and with it a portion of the obligation, expressed in terms of money or labour, so that the lord might call for whichever was most suitable at the time. This seems to be the explanation of a "tenement"² being held by several tenants in small portions. There are also several other indications which will be pointed out as they occur in the rolls, which suggest that the tenants of many small holdings were not cottagers on their own account, but members of families living together, yet having little stocks of their own.

During the thirteenth century the complicated arrangements arising out of these various developments

¹ Payment on the marriage of the tenant's daughter.

² A "tenement" in these documents is always a "holding," not a building, as we speak now.

necessitated the formation of the documents known as Manorial "Extents,"¹ which contain a survey of the whole manor, the character and limits of the lord's demesne, the nature of every separate holding, and the obligations of every tenant in the way of services and works, even to such details as the composition of the loaves which, on certain occasions, the lord was bound to supply.

On one point an Extent does not give directly any explicit information, viz., on the personal status of the tenants. No doubt most of the freeholders would be freemen, and most of the "custumarii" would be "villani" or "nativi" (which words were by this time used almost synonymously by Norman lawyers); but it must not be taken for granted. The obligations were attached rather to the tenement than to the tenant, and certainly many freemen held customary lands, executing the labour services vicariously.

2.—THE THREE ROLLS.

With these introductory remarks on the scope of our enquiry we may turn to our documents:—

(a) The first, which was the original cause of the compilation of this paper, is an "Extent of the Manor of Bradcar in Shropham," made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward I., which year began on November 20th, 1298. The roll is among the documents of the Great Hospital in Norwich, preserved in the City Muniment Room.²

(b) The second is an "Extent of Banham," made in the tenth year of King Edward, which commenced November 20th, 1281. It was analysed some time ago

¹ A good description of the nature of an "Extent" will be found in Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, vol. i. p. 218.

² Case 24, shelf G, p. 77 in Revised Catalogue.

by the Rev. Canon Jessopp, D.D., F.S.A., who has kindly placed his analysis in the hands of the writer.

(c) The third is in the possession of our honorary secretary, Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke, who has been good enough to lend it for comparison with the other two records. It relates to the "Manor of Wykes in Bardwell" in Suffolk. It is not dated, but internal evidence shows that it belongs to the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Not only do the three records thus nearly approach each other in point of date (within about twenty years), but it will be observed that the three manors are not far removed from each other in point of locality, two of them lying in the contiguous hundreds of Shropham and Guiltcross in Norfolk, and the third in the adjoining hundred of Blackbourn just over the border in Suffolk. Nor do they materially differ from each other in agricultural conditions. The differences which we may notice, therefore, may be reasonably attributed rather to the special character of the lordship than to the internal circumstances of the manor.

3.—THE MANOR OF BRADCAR IN SHROPHAM.

It will be well to begin with a short summary of the record of this manor, because its constitution is certainly the simplest of the three.

Freeholders.—After the heading stating that the roll was made on the incoming of John de Coggeshale, the Extent commences with a list of the "libere tenentes" or *Freeholders*. Of these there are no less than 58¹ holding amongst them 289 acres of arable land. By far the

¹ In all these lists of tenants the full number is given, but it is rather the number of separate holdings than of separate persons. Certainly the same person more than once holds two tenements, and sometimes among different classes of tenants.

greater part of this land is held by three, who hold 55, 60, and 60 acres, or 175 acres in all; the remaining fifty-five holding only 114 acres between them, most of them having only very small amounts each. The first of the three large holders, John de Brekles, who also held a foldcourse, turbary, and fishery, all (including the land) being in Brekles Magna, and who had two other small holdings in the hands of sub-tenants in Shropham and Hockham Magna, paid for the whole no more than 6s. per annum, and one halfpenny for scutage. The second, John de Gardino de Hokham, who held a foldcourse as well as his 60 acres in Hokham Magna and Parva, also paid a rent of 6s., but out of a scutage of 20s. he paid 2s. The third large holder, Richard de Snytterton, chaplain, held 60 acres and a foldcourse, all in Snytterton, and paid 4s. rent and 1s. scutage. Nothing is said in the case of either of these three tenants about suit of court. Their connection, therefore, with the manor appears to be a very favourable one for them as compared, for instance, with Thomas Hood (6) who also pays a rent of 4s., though holding only five acres.

The other fifty-two freeholders have such various holdings, many of them very small, and pay such various rents that it seems impossible to formulate their position in the manor. At the close of this list of freeholders are the names of thirty-two persons, mostly occurring on the list, who are bound, if they have a plough, to plough for the lord twice a year with as many beasts as they use on their own lands. It is presumed that the lord had some means of enforcing this service when he needed it, for it is added that "although they do not plough, they shall give nothing." With this exception, they rendered scarcely anything but rent. Nothing is said about suit of court.

Molmen.—After the Freeholders comes a class of tenants

distinguished as "Molmen,"¹ who, as their name implies, made some money commutation for the worst kind of servile work. There were eighteen of these tenants, and they held 71 acres. Technically they were classed with "the other" customary tenants. Their advantage over the others consisted in their being free from all *winter* or regular works. They were bound to various occasional works in the summer and autumn. One of them, at least, had to serve the offices of reeve and harvestman, and they all paid rent for their lands. In reference to the nature of their money commutation it may be as well to mention first the remaining class of tenants.

Customary Tenants.—These were subject to the full obligations of villainage. There were, however, only seven of them, holding in all 54 acres. With one exception their holdings were exactly equal, six of them having 8 acres each, the seventh having 6 acres. All of them were bound to exactly the same services, including the whole of the so-called "winter" works, which were certain regular works between Michaelmas and August. The other works they shared almost equally with the "Molmen." Now the holdings of the molmen in no case exceeded those of the "custumarii." Four of them held the normal 8 acres; four more held half the normal amount, 4 acres; one had 6 acres; the remaining nine held irregular and even very small holdings. Almost every tenant in both classes is said to have a "messuage" in addition to the land. It appears, therefore, that the exemption from the winter works constituted the distinctive feature of the molmen's status, and we should expect to find an equivalent increase in their rents. It is not quite easy to estimate this because, as most frequently happens, there is so little regularity about the rents. The rents of the six customary tenants who

¹ From "mal," a rent or payment.—Vinogradoff, p. 183.

hold 8 acres each vary from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 11½d. Three of the four molmen who have similar holdings pay 1s. 4d., 1s. 8½d., and 2s. 4d. The fourth of these is the first on the list of molmen, and he pays only 8d. Of him it is said that he has to serve as reeve and "messor." Possibly this obligation is intended to apply to him alone, and his rent and services are reduced in consequence. The number of the winter works was forty-two, and each was valued at ½d. The equivalent commutation for a molman would be 1s. 9d., but it can hardly be said that this increase of rent is apparent on the surface.

There is one other consideration in respect to works which were incumbent on both classes alike. In the case of the molman, it is plainly within his right to pay the specified money and not do the work if he pleases. In the case of the customary tenants this option only relates to certain works, and not to the rest. On the whole, therefore, it seems probable that the transference of a man from the class of "custumarii" to that of "molmen" was not exactly due to an agreement to pay an equivalent commutation for labour in the form of increased rent. Varying circumstances (as in the case of the small freeholders) must have governed each case, the result being the same—escape from the burdensome winter works and also greater option to escape by payment from occasional works in the summer.

On quitting the survey of the tenants on this manor we cannot help observing the extremely small proportion of them who were still subject to the full burden of pure villainage.

The Lord's Demesne.—The extent concludes with a very short statement as to the demesne. Besides other things, which need not here be noticed, it contained 301½ acres of arable land. The ploughing on these acres seems to

have been effected by the labour of the freeholders twice a year, as mentioned above, and of both the other classes of tenants, who were bound by a similar obligation. If the voluntary work of the molmen and the enforced work of the "custumarii" did not suffice for all else that was required it must have been supplemented by paid labour.

4.—THE MANOR OF BANHAM.

The Demesne.—This manor presents some features differing considerably from that of Bradcar. It begins with an interesting statement as to the franchises attached to the lordship, which was held of the Earl of Gloucester for the third part of a knight's fee. The demesne comprised many valuable elements, but the arable land actually kept in the lord's hands was only 39½ acres. It seems, however, that some "demesne" land was held by freeholders.

Freeholders.—The tenants on this manor are divided into the same three classes as before, but not by any means in the same proportion. The most remarkable feature is the very small "freehold" element, contrasting sharply with its large representation at Bradcar and Bardwell. Only seven tenants are so described, and of these one held customary land. Their total amount of land was 211 acres, or, deducting the 28 acres of customary land, 183 acres. Of these, 128 (described as being of the lord's demesne) were held by Sir Robert de Tateshale on the sole service of a rent of 2s., which is entered among the rents of the freeholders. William de Lirling held 40 acres in four pieces (and therefore probably not in the common fields). For this he was bound to somewhat onerous services, especially the obligation to "go on the lord's business throughout the whole of England." Another freeholder had 10 acres in the "field of Banham,"

and paid 4s. 2d. and rendered services of suit of court. Three other holdings were very small. The seventh tenant, William atte Water, who is enrolled as a freeholder, is quite distinguished from the rest. He holds customary land (28 acres), has to render customary labour services, and his rent of 2s. 6d. is entered with those of the *custumarii*. He must at the lord's will serve as reeve, woodward, or harvestman. He is not, however, bound to week-work. Another noticeable circumstance is that in one of these free holdings half an acre of land is held by "*Hugo Fresceint nativus domini*," who, it is stated, "*bought* it of William Hert, a freeman of the lord," charged with a rent of 1s. 6d.

Custumarii.—These follow immediately after the Freeholders. They are thirty-two in number, and hold 244 acres of arable land. There is not, however, the same equality in their shares as in those of the corresponding tenants at Bradcar. The first on the list holds 21 acres, the second 18, two others 15, and some only 2. As, however, seven of them hold 7 acres each, and five others multiples of 7, we may perhaps conclude that there had been at one time an equal division on the basis of 7 acres, the more so as the 28 acres of customary land held by William atte Water among the freeholders follow the same rule. In this connection an observation may be made on the *regular* agricultural labours required of these tenants. The typical tenant, John Richer, who is the example for many others, is bound to do one work per week, from Michaelmas till August 1st. These week-works of course correspond with the "winter works" of the Bradcar Roll. There each tenant was to do forty-two such works. In the Bardwell Extent, which follows this, the prescribed number will be found to be forty. Now, at Banham, John Richer maintained that the equivalent money value of this obligation was 14d. As the value of such a work

is given on all three manors as $\frac{1}{2}d.$, this would allow for only twenty-eight works, which is just two-thirds of the forty-two. Unfortunately, just where the counter estimate of the lord's steward is given, the roll is defaced. There is, however, further on in the roll a statement of the total amount of these week-works as being 1462, which for thirty-two tenants would give rather more than forty-five for each. A more probable explanation of the total is this. The full number of weeks comprised in the period from Michaelmas to August was reckoned as forty-four, and although three weeks, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide were exempted, so that the actual number of working weeks was forty-one, still some stewards entered the whole forty-four weeks' works as due.¹ Now if we add William atte Water's holding (though he was personally exempt) making the number thirty-three, and reckon forty-four works to each, it would give 1452, which looks very like the number intended in the roll.

The language of the Extent implies that exactly the same amount of week-work was required from every customary tenant, whatever the size of his holding. The exceptions or variations refer to other works, not to these. This equalised obligation would seem to imply an original system of equal holdings, as at Bradcar. But beyond the fact already mentioned that a holding of 7 acres with its

¹ A remarkable instance of the regular organisation of the customary tenants of a manor, both in holdings and service, is given in Cunningham (*ubi supra*) p. 507. On the Manor of Borley, Essex, in 1307, there were three customarii holding 20 acres, and bound to three works a week from Michaelmas to August (forty-four weeks); eleven held 10 acres, and were bound to half that work; and nine held 5 acres, and did half the amount of the last. A twelfth holder of 10 acres, who heads the whole list, is entered as bound to three works a week as if he held 20. But if he did the same works as the other 10-acre tenants, the total comes to 1485, which is the exact amount entered under that head.

multiples is of most frequent occurrence, we have little to guide us. There are, perhaps, slight indications of some grouping of smaller holdings. Thus whereas ten (including all the larger holders) have to follow the typical services of John Richer, one of them, Richard Fissy (4), although holding only 3 acres and 3 roods, becomes a type to thirteen others, whose holdings are of various sizes. But six of Fissy's followers form types to one or another of the remaining tenants, and here a great rule of similarity is apparent. Thomas Mafrey (8) with 7 acres sets a type to Ralph le Erl (15), who also has 7 acres; Ranulph Canne (11) with 6 acres to Stephen Reymond (13) with 5; Frescentia Cristmesse (14) with 2 acres to William le Blekestere (16), William Gilbert (25), and Beatrix le Blekestere (27) with $2\frac{1}{2}$, 2, and 2 acres respectively; Stephen Leveday (17) with 7 acres to William Goche (18) and Roger Ketil (20) also with 7 acres each; and Hugo son of Peter (22) with $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres to Geoffrey Distel (26) with the same amount of land. This seems to point to some relation between holding and service in occasional work, and we can hardly doubt that equality of week-work indicates an original equality of customary holdings.

In the case of this particular manor the substitution of money payments for personal work had evidently advanced even further than at Bradcar. The difference of opinion between the steward and the customary tenants as to the money value of a year's week-work furnishes conclusive evidence that the question actually arose. The lord would sometimes at least rather have money than work, even from the tenants in full villainage. This is not surprising considering the small amount of land in demesne for which their labour was wanted.

Perhaps also this comparatively small need of labour was the originating cause for another feature of this manor. From customary tenants and the majority of the

molmen alike, an annual rent in kind was still taken. It was in the form of quarters of oats, ranging from one quarter to four or five. No manifest distinction in the amount rendered is perceptible between the two classes of tenants. If there is, it is slightly in favour of the molmen.

Molmen.—Passing to these, which follow the “*custumarii*,” we find that they were very numerous, sixty-three in all. They were divided into two classes, “*molmen magne tenure*,”¹ and “*molmen parve tenure*.” Of the former there were forty-one, holding amongst them 226 acres and 3 roods. The holdings vary from 21 to 2 acres. The 7 acre holding occurs in five cases, and 3½ in six, besides the holding of 21. The rest are very irregular. The rent of oats has just been mentioned. It was rendered by all but six. These tenants were liable to certain occasional services, and there was much difference of opinion between them and the steward as to the equivalent value of their works, and also as to their liability to pay anything at all in case the labour was not required. Their rents in money, which were chiefly paid at Michaelmas, do not bear any perceptible relation to the extent of their holdings, but there is a very marked evidence of a normal and equal rent of 16*d.*, payable at Michaelmas.² This amount occurs in no less than twenty-three cases, while the half (8*d.*) occurs in five others, and the double (32*d.*) in one. No obvious explanation of this circumstance suggests itself.

¹ These descriptions “of great tenure” and “of small tenure” can hardly apply to the size of the holdings, which are mostly small. They must have in some way differentiated the character of the services rendered. (“There can be no tenure without some service, because the service makes the tenure.—1 Inst. I., 93,” Jacob *Law Dictionary*, s.v. Tenure).

² This fact is obscured in the list of rents as given below, in which some small additional rents, payable at other times, are included. The rents of 1*s.* 6*d.* or like amounts include a Michaelmas rent of 1*s.* 4*d.*

The "molmen parve tenure" are very small holders indeed. There are twenty-two, of whom seventeen hold only 24 acres of land between them. Four of the others hold a "cotagium," and one has a messuage at ferm. They do a few occasional works, and render moderate rents on a somewhat lower scale than the other molmen. There is no typical tenant. Each seems to be treated on separate terms. One exception, however, is worth noticing. Walter Leche, the last but one on the list, holds 3½ acres, "and does in all things as the aforesaid Simon Underwode, &c." Now Simon was the typical tenant among the "molmen magne tenure," and Walter not only here renders his quarter of oats and his normal 16*d.* rent as they do, but actually has a holding among them also. There seems, therefore, no reason why he should not have been reckoned amongst the more important class of molmen for this holding as well as the other. We may, perhaps, recognise here another indication that the designation "molmen" had ceased to express merely the substitution of money payments for labour. Here are two holdings held by the same person on similar conditions, yet he is differently designated in respect of each. For the rest, although this lower class of molmen at Banham were indeed free from the burdensome obligations of the *custumarii*, yet the small size of their manorial holdings could only have meant starvation without other means of subsistence. Whether they hired out their labour or in what way they made a living does not appear. The same observation will apply to the molmen "of great tenure," who in some cases have equally small holdings.

Tenants bound to special Suit of Court.—Between the two classes of molmen on this manor is a list of seven tenants (or rather holdings) of special interest. Among the obligations of medieval life (as at the present day)

had to be reckoned the duty of attending Courts, of which there were several. There were the ordinary Manorial Courts, of which mention may be made when we come to the Bardwell Roll. There were also the Royal Courts, such as Hundred Courts, County Courts, or the great Assizes held by the Itinerant Justices. At these attendance was required from various classes of persons, not merely to answer some specific charge, but to make presentments (or reports) as to the due fulfilment in each district of the requirements of the common law and also as to the satisfaction of all legal claims and services due to the king. The proper persons to fulfil this obligation of giving sworn testimony in the King's Courts would naturally be freemen as being most "law worthy." But it is clear that persons of legally "unfree" status shared the burden.

The tenants here mentioned were bound to attend these courts, and were almost certainly all "molmen." Two of their names occur in the preceding list. Moreover they were bound to the "unfree" service of merchet, yet they are said to answer at these courts "pro toto homagio," an expression which would rightly mean the freemen or freeholders. We have seen, however, that freeholders were almost unknown on this manor, and it is apparent that the molmen (at least those whose lands were held "magne tenure") must have been counted as such. There are seven holdings held on this condition, comprising 100 acres. The first (25 acres) is held conjointly by three persons. All these tenants had to perform this service at their own cost.¹

Besides the tenants of these special holdings, one of the "molmen magne tenure," John Huwet, holding 16 acres, is excused serving as reeve or in the other similar

¹ Tenants with a similar obligation were sometimes termed "Hundredarii." Vinogradoff discusses their status at some length, pp. 188 and 441.

offices "because he is Attorney in the Hundred of Gildecros." This word did not necessarily at this time mean an "Attorney at Law." But it meant that in some way John specially represented the lord at the Hundred Court, probably at the ordinary monthly courts, whereas the others appeared at special courts, such as the Great Hundred or Sheriff's Tourn. The description of the lord's franchises in the roll itself contains many details about these obligations.

5.—THE MANOR OF WYKES IN BARDWELL.

Freeholders.—The Extent of this manor contains no account of the Lord's Demesne, and the tenants are divided into two classes only, freeholders and "custumarii." Of freeholders there are no fewer than seventy-six, but so small are the majority of their holdings that the total amount of their arable land only reaches 265 acres. Indeed, deducting seven tenants who hold 116 acres, and six more who appear to have held messuages without land, there remain sixty-three freeholders holding scarcely more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres each. The details of their holdings are very remarkable. John de Buxhale (49) for example, holds thus:— $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of tenement Peet; 5 roods of tenement Robert Bude; 3 roods of tenement Bretun; and 1 rood of tenement le Hore. For the first of these he pays a rent of 9*d.*, for the second, $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and for each of the other two, $\frac{2}{3}$ *d.* This is by no means an unusual case. The tenements so named are held also in small pieces by other tenants. A tenement called after "J. Symonds" is held by no less than ten tenants, although the total of the small pieces only amounts to 14 acres and 3 roods. So $10\frac{1}{2}$ acres of "tenement Peet" are held in seven small lots. No such names, as a rule, occur among the existing tenants, and we may fairly conjecture that these

were holdings which had been once held by tenants of those names, and had been broken up into these small pieces while still retaining the name on the steward's roll.¹ The holders of the pieces, however small, appear to have been dealt with independently. Only in one case is there mention of joint responsibility. Quite at the end of the list of freeholders are the names of eleven tenants (64-74) of whom it is said "all these hold 1 messuage and 9 acres of the tenement Marger'." They jointly paid 3s. rent. Some of these persons held messuages and land besides this, and at least three of them also held as "custumarii." With some slight exceptions not worth mentioning, these tenants, so far as regarded their freehold tenements, paid moderate rents, averaging about 4d. per acre (though quite unequally distributed), and a small sum for scutage.

Custumarii.—Of these tenants there were forty-nine (some names occurring on both lists). They held in all 267½ acres. One of them held 26 acres, another 15, and another 12. The rest were all small holdings. Like the freeholders, they frequently held pieces of "tenements," sometimes the same as those parted amongst the freeholders. More remarkable still is the way in which they held minute pieces of lands of adjoining lords. Here is an instance. Stephen de Depmer (5) holds a messuage and 4 acres with rent and services, and also 5 acres of the same tenement with further rent and services. Then we read that "the same Stephen holds freely of the fees of other lords 5½ acres and 1 rood, to wit, of the Abbot of St. Edmund 5 roods, rendering 1½d.; of Ralph le Skinnere 1 acre, with rent 1d.; of Adam Ingold 1 acre, rent ½d.; of Albr' Unfrey ½ acre, rent ½d.; of Alec' Marger' 1 acre, rent ¾d.; of Thomas Marger' 1 acre, rent ½d.; total rent 4½d." Now it is

¹ Several of them are traceable on the earlier Subsidy Roll mentioned below.

expressly stipulated in all such cases that these small rents accruing to other lords were to be collected by the steward of this manor and paid to his own lord, who would thereupon acquit the tenant against the lords of the other fees. The preparation for the annual audit on this manor must have been a severe test of the bailiff's powers as an accountant. This one tenant, holding 14½ acres, had to be dealt with under eight heads, for every one of these lords had other pieces in the hands of other tenants. Many of the "lords" were tenants themselves.

With respect to labour services the regulations are very instructive. As already mentioned, the required number of week-works was forty, and a very interesting statement is made in the case of the typical tenant, John Larke (7) as to these works. In any case labour for a whole day on the land counted for two works; in some cases even for four. This greatly reduced the burden of the obligation to an individual. Many of the tenants were also bound to a somewhat unusual service. In the case of John Larke it is thus stated, "and he shall reap in autumn four gouilacres without the lord's food, to wit, two of winter corn and two of barley." "Gouil (govil)" must be "gavel" or rent, but these were, of course, not acres for which a money rent was paid. On some manors mention is made of "gauilerth," i.e., gavel ploughing.¹ This is explained to be ploughing a certain amount of the lord's land as a return for and in proportion to some amount of land held by the worker. In Bardwell this service was required of the holders of land held in villainage, and would seem not to have differed from an ordinary labour service on the lord's demesne. The "gouil acres" were divided into "pedates." Such explanation as can

¹ Vinogradoff, p. 280,—"erth" is "ploughing" from the old English "ear," to plough. The service at Bardwell consisted of reaping, not ploughing.

be given of these services will be found where they occur in the roll.

Another suggestive feature of this manor is the evidence it affords of grouping or co-operation among the tenants, whether by manorial arrangement or their own convenience. Thus the first customary tenant, Adam de Depmer, who holds 2 acres and a messuage, is bound to certain services, and the second, Hugo de Depmer, also holding a messuage and 2 acres, is bound to the same services with Adam "parcenario suo." Another case suggests a family group. Geoffrey son of William de Littlemor (24) has a messuage with $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres and $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, and the services specified are to be performed by him and his "participes," i.e., his two brothers, who follow him on the list, each stated to hold "the same as Geoffrey." The tenant before Geoffrey was another member of the family, Thomas de Littlemor, chaplain, with 2 messuages and 26 acres, held for life. Two other cases are groupings of neighbours. There were two districts called "Estrete" and "Westrete." Wm. Payn (30) lived in Estrete, and Adam Alcock (39) in Westrete. Of the latter it is said that "he and all his underwritten parceners of Westrete shall do as William Payn and his parceners of Estrete."

On this matter reference may be made to a most interesting document, of which only a few extracts can be given here. It is an Inventory of all the stores of grain and stock of animals on which an assessment was made for a tax of $\frac{1}{80}$ in 11th Edw. I.¹ The Roll includes the whole Hundred of Blackbourn, in which Bardwell stood. It belongs, unfortunately for comparison with our

¹ In the Public Record Office, marked "Lay Subsidy, Suffolk, 242." This valuable document has somewhat recently come to light. It contains complete inventories of thirty-three parishes, giving the whole of the stores of grain and of the live stock held by all the inhabitants about March, 1283.

Extent, to a generation earlier, and only a few of the same persons occur in both. It thoroughly confirms, however, the observations just made. Many of the separate contributors are assessed on almost absurdly small stocks, and the only possible explanation must be that they belonged to families or groups of fellow workers. At the same time they are assessed as independent holders of their little stocks just as much as the lord himself or the large tenants. The lord of the manor begins with £26 of grain and live stock. The next tenant follows with £18. At the other end of the scale, John Rastald has two seams (quarters) of barley, two bushels of peas, one mare, and one cow, worth in all 14s. 3d. Matilda Gott has half a seam of barley, three bushels of rye, one bushel of peas, and one cow, worth 8s. 2½d. Just before this comes a family. Henry Aluered has goods to the value of £3. 12s. 6d., and William Aluered goods worth 15s. The latter must have been an old man, perhaps living with his son, who follows, John, son of William,¹ who is actually the largest tenant next to the lord, having goods valued at £21. 13s. 9d. The reeves seem to have held a good position. "Johannes prepositus" is assessed on £5. 4s. 10d., and "Gundreda, daughter of John prepositus," possesses on her own account one seam of malt, one cow, one sheep, one hoggett, and one lamb; worth in all 8s. 9d. Still more curious is the case of another reeve, "Willelmus prepositus," who had goods valued at £5. 12s. 0d., and then follows "Alicia ancilla Wiffi prepositi," who owns independently two and a half seams of barley, six sheep, and one lamb, worth 12s. When daughters and maid-servants were reckoned as having independent property, we can hardly say that the law of villainage was worked out in all its logical

¹ This is evidently the freeholder (24) of our Extent. He seems at the later date to have sub-let his holding. See customary tenants (35) and (38).

extremes. In the township of Ixworth, on this Subsidy Roll, a separate list of the "custumarii" of the lord is given with all their belongings, large and small, and yet they are distinguished from the free contributors as "servi" ("tam liberorum quam servorum").

Suit of Court.—This Bardwell Roll gives specific statements about the obligation of suit of court. Of the freeholders, five are to attend "all the lord's courts," and the same obligation is imposed on thirty-one of the "custumarii." Five of the freeholders and one of the custumarii are exempted from suit at other courts, but are bound to attend two "General Courts."¹ The "Courts" here mentioned would be the ordinary Manorial Courts, which in some manors were held as often as every three weeks. The burden of attendance was, perhaps, not quite so great as might appear at first sight, since the "suitors" were all on the spot, and the business was often very small. The "two General Courts" would be the courts held twice a year, when, in addition to the civil business of the manor, the View of Frankpledge was held, including the business of what was then called "the Leet," and afterwards the "Court Leet."

Scutage.—This roll also gives a specific statement of the incidence of "scutage" on the manorial tenants. Scutage was a commutation for personal military service organised by King Henry II. by way of obtaining more of a paid army and making himself less dependent on his barons. It became a sort of military tax on the tenants in chief based on the number of their "knights' fees".² The usual charge at this time on one knight's fee was 40s. or

¹ The tenants who had to attend all courts are marked on the list (a. c.): those who attended the two general courts (2 g. c.).

² It was now becoming obsolete. "In Edward I.'s day scutage was becoming, under his grandson it became, obsolete." (Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 337.)

3 marks. The lord on whom this charge was made was allowed to get it back from his tenants. Almost every tenant on this manor paid a small sum towards this charge, which was an occasional exaction. Few paid more than 1*d.* out of 20*s.* If this expression (1*d.*, 2*d.*, &c., out of 20*s.*) is intended for anything more than a statement of percentage, it would mean that the lord of this manor held half a knight's fee.¹ The total amount paid by freeholders is 4*s.* 1½*d.*, and by customary tenants, 3*s.* 6½*d.*, or 7*s.* 8*d.* in all. This can hardly represent any proportional part of a fee. Either the lord himself paid the remainder of the sum required, or perhaps some other manor belonging to him made it up.

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF BRADCAR, SHROPHAM, 1298.

"Roll of Tenants and Customs of the Manor of Bradeker,² made on the first coming of John de Coggeshale³ in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward,

¹ In "Lay Subsidies, Suffolk, 1443 4 E. II." occurs "Berdewell. De Isabella de Wykes pro dimidio j feodi in Berdewell, j marc." This would be at the rate of 26*s.* 8*d.* for each fee.

² See Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 8vo., vol. i., p. 457.

³ A Roll of Knights' Fees in Public Record Office (Lay Subsidies, Norfolk, 1442) mentions this lord and several of the freehold tenants. "John de Coggeshale holds half a fee in Shropham of Hugo le Veer, and Hugo of Earl Warren, and the Earl of the King, xx". Roger le Caux and his tenants hold half a fee in Shropham of William de Gerun, and William of the King, xx". John de Brebles holds a quarter fee in Shropham of the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of the King, x". Peter de Shropham, Roger le Caux, William de Hockham, the heirs of Richard de Snytterton, Peter son of Robert de Becham, hold half a fee in Shropham of William the Marshal, and William of the King, xx".

son of King Henry, by Thomas de Burny, Henry Wande, Henry Abot, Henry Grom, Thomas atte falgate, Peter de Tymworth, Ralph Toppe, Geoffrey Burny, and William Kene."

Freeholders (libere tenentes).

Tenant.	Holding and Land.		Rent.	
		a. r.	s.	d.
1. John de Brekles, ¹ in vill of Brekles Magna ...	Messuage without buildings	55 0	6	0
Also as sub-tenants holding freely Walter Manchild, in vill of Shropham ...	Messuage	[not stated]		
Robert Elfeld, in vill of Shropham ...	Messuage	6 0		
Heirs and son of Geoffrey atte hill, in vill of Hockham Magna ...	Messuage	[not stated]		
now in tenure of Robert Trendel				
2. Bartholomew de Gardino de Hockham, in vills of Hockham Magna and Parva ...	Messuage ²	60 0	6	0
now in tenure of Alan de valle Badonis, and in other tenures, free and customary				
3. Adam de Methelonde, in Hockham Magna ...	... 7 & 3 acres of meadow		0	3

¹ John de Brekles held all these holdings by inheritance of his wife, Alice, daughter of Bartholomew de Grymsted. Also right of foldage without limit, of turbary and piscary, paying, besides the above rent, $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for scutage. The word "vill" (villa) expresses more than village. It comprises the whole area of the parish.

² Held by Bartholomew by inheritance of Alice his wife, as mesne ("sicud medius") under Walter de Bradok. Walter held of the lord. He had "foldage for 6 score and 1 heads," and paid 2s. scutage out of 20s.

Also paid scutage of uncertain amount.

	Holding and Land.		Rent.
	a.	r.	s. d.
4. Richard de Snytterton, chaplain, ¹ in vill of Snytterton ...	Messuage	60 0	4 0
5. John Knyght de Hokham, in Hokham Magna ...	Messuage	3 0	0 5
6. Thomas Hood of the same, in Hokham Magna ...	... ..	5 0	4 0
7. Henry Breton ...	Cottage ...	6 1	1 2½
8. Peter Julian ...	... ..	1 0	0 2
9. Henry Carpenter, as mesne with divers tenants ...	... ..	8 0	2 5
10. John Carpenter ...	... ..	1 0	0 2
11. William Breton ...	... ..	0 0½	0 0½
12. William son of Elmered, Also as mesne, in tenure of William Herberd ...	... .. [not stated] Messuage	8 0	0 1 1 6½
13. William Sekkere ...	Cottage ...	...	0 1
14. William de Illyngton ...	... ..	1 0	0 2
15. Henry son of Thomas de Modyngwell ...	... ..	1½ 0	0 2
16. Roger le cauce ...	... ..	4 0	0 4½
17. Adam son of Nicholas the reeve ...	... ..	4½ 0	1 5½ and 1 capon
18. William Herberd ...	Croft ...	...	1 capon
19. Robert de Bradok ² ...	... ..	2 0	} 0 3½
Also as mesne in tenure of William Martin ...	... ..	2 0	
20. Philip Talebot ...	... ..	½ 0	0 1½
21. Geoffrey Helewys ...	... ..	0 1	0 1½
22. Walter the clerk ...	Messuage with Croft	1½ 0	2 0

¹ Held "by himself and by his tenants." Had foldage without number. Paid 12d. of scutage.

² All the above nineteen tenants, except where "medius" is specified, are said to hold "per se," which seems to mean "in their own hands" as distinguished from "sicut medius," in which case they had sub-let their holding to another, but were themselves responsible to the lord for the rent.

	Tenant.		Holding and Land.		Rent. s. d.
			a.	r.	
23.	Walter Leverich	... Messuage	1	0 and	
		with Croft	3½	formerly	
				of John Parys	0 7
24.	Geoffrey le Blo, "per se"				
	in Handhowe	... 1 piece of land			0 0½ ^a
				(a) and 2 hens for hutshote ¹	
25.	The same, and Juliana his				
	sister	... 1 0			0 1
26.	Heirs of John Terry and				
	Cecilia Terry	... 0 3			0 3½
27.	Roger "le ffishere"	... Curtilage	1	1	0 1½
					and 2 hens
28.	John Child	... 0 1			0 0½
29.	Robert Denys	... ½ 0			0 1
30.	Walter Thedryk	... For blocking a path			
		through his courtyard			0 1½
31.	Hugo le Chapman	... Messuage	0	1	0 0½
32.	Agnes Lovet	... For blocking a way			0 1
33.	Robert Payn	... [not stated]			0 0½
34.	Margaret Leverich	... 4 0			0 8½
35.	Peter de Grymeston	... Messuage			
		with buildings	0	2½	0 8
36.	Thomas Chapman	... 2 0			0 4½
37.	Alicia Leverich, as mesne, in tenure of				
	Richard le caus	... 1½ 0			0 3
38.	Reginald Layt	... 1 0			0 3
39.	Nicholas son of Peter				
	ffukeys	... A ditch and the issue			
		(exitus)			0 0½ ^a
		(a) and one boonwork in autumn, with food.			
40.	John atte Grene	... Messuage			
		with buildings and croft	1	0	0 3
41.	William Lovet	... [not stated]			1 7
42.	Andrew son of Gilbert	... ½ 0			0 1
43.	Roger de Shropham	... 0 3			0 2
44.	Walter Chaumberleyn	... 0 1½			0 0½
45.	Walter Bullock	... 7 0			0 7

¹ Out-shot or out-payment, for some privilege which is not apparent.

	Tenant.		Holding and Land.		Rent.
			a.	r.	s. d.
46.	Stephen Wlmer	... Cottage ...			0 2 ^a
		(a) and two boonworks, with food.			
47.	William the cobbler				
	(sutor)...	... Message	7	0	1 0
48.	Ernald Simon	... Message	1	0	0 5½
49.	Robert Lusser and				
	Oliva his wife	... Cottage ...			0 1
					and 1 capon
	The same, "per se" of the fee of				
	Robert de Bukenham	... ..	1	0	0 2½
50.	Walter Hirich, as mesne, in tenure of				
	Walter Terry	... ..	½	0	0 1
51.	Emma atte Greene, by				
	the Holmere	... ..	½	0	0 1
52.	Robert le Smale de				
	Hokham, at "le gore"	... ..	1	0	1 capon
53.	Henry Layt	... A ditch below his			
		messuage ...			1 hen
54.	Robert le Mey	... Issue to the common			2 hens
55.	Alicia, widow of Andrew				
	son of Walter atte				
	Water	... Small parcel of land			
		in her curtilage			2 hens
56.	Walter Manchild	... Issue to common			4 hens
57.	Andrew Semer	... Issue to common			1 hen
58.	Walter Leverich, of tenement formerly				
	of Rich. de Harpley	... ..	6½	0	} 7 quarters of barley
	The same, of tenement formerly of				
	Agnes Momes	... ..	3½	0	
	The same, of land of Martyns tenement		4	0½	
	The same, of tenement Ide, "to wit, customary land"	... ..	1½	0	

"And be it known that if any one of Lirlyngg has any beasts pasturing on the common of Shropham, he shall give for them a hen at the will of the lord's bailiffs or harvestmen. Also Richard de Calkhil and John Bishop of Lirlyngg, who are near neighbours, if they common with any beast, shall each of them give one hen, and

they shall plough both together for one day with their own plough when the lord wills. And each shall have for the said ploughing eight herrings and four barley loaves, and twenty loaves should be made out of every bushel. Also each of them shall do one boonwork in autumn, with the lord's food at noon¹ (ad nonam), and each of them shall have three loaves in the evening (ad vesperam) and thirty loaves are made of every bushel. And if they do not plough, they shall give 3*d.* And if they do not reap, they shall give for every reaping 1*d.*

"Also Roger the fisher (piscator) of Shropham, John le Marchaunt, William Lovet, Walter Thedryk, John Thedryk, junior, Thomas le Marchaunt, Walter le Marchaunt, John le caus, William Bone, John Layt, Henry atte Watere, Robert Meyis, Ernald Simund, Robert Lusser, Walter Terry, Walter Manchild, William Faber, Peter Wlmer, William son of Elmered, Peter Jelion, John Carpenter, William Breton, Walter Batalie, William de Illyngton, Adam Osbern, Henry de Modyngwelle, Adam son of Nicholas the reeve, Agnes atte Grene, Philip Talebot, the heirs of John Terry, Geoffrey le Blo, William gerey. All these, if they have a plough, ought to plough for the lord twice a year at the will of the lord, with as many head as they yoke in the plough on their own lands. And every plough shall have every time eight herrings and four barley loaves, and twenty loaves are made of every bushel, and every plough, besides the resumption,² 3*d.* Notwithstanding although they do not plough they shall give nothing."

¹ If "noon" is meant, this would be the "prandium," or mid-day meal; if "none" (3.0 p.m.), then it would be an afternoon refreshment.

² "Preter resumcionem." This seems to be the same as "reprise" used in some rolls. Kelham (*Norman Dictionary*) gives "Repris, deductions and duties yearly paid out of a manor and lands." So Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, s.v. Reprises (Fr. resomption). Does it mean that the lord has to pay the 3*d.* irrespective of any arrears due on other obligations?

Sum of	At the term of St. Andrew	s. d.	8 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	Also 7 quarters of barley
the	At the term of the			in Lent.
moneys	Nativity of the Lord	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$		Also at the term of St.
of the	At the term of the Puri-			Andrew, 2 capons.
free	fication of the Blessed			Also at the term of
tenants.	Mary	0 3		Easter, 2 capons.
	At the term of Easter ...	8 0		And at the term of the
	At the term of Pentecost	3 9 $\frac{1}{4}$		Nativity of the Lord,
Sum	At the term of St. John	3 4 $\frac{1}{4}$		13 hens.
total,	At the term of St. Peter			And 5 boonworks in
39s. 8d.	ad vincula (August 1)	2 7 $\frac{1}{2}$		autumn.
	At the term of St. Michael	12 0 $\frac{1}{4}$		

Molmen.

	Tenant.	Holding and Land.	Rent.	
			s. d.	s. d.
1.	Ralph Toppe	Messuage and	8 0	0 8
2.	William atte Tounesende	Messuage	6 0	2 10
3.	Peter Muncy ¹	Messuage	8 0	2 4
4.	Peter Tymworth	Messuage	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0	[not stated]
5.	John Theyn	Messuage	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0	[same as last]
6.	Isabella Kyng	Messuage	4 0	1 6
7.	Henry Wande	Messuage	4 0	1 6
8.	William Martin	Messuage	$\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 rood	
9.	Basilia Breton	Messuage	1 0	
10.	Robert Herd	Messuage	$\frac{1}{2}$ 0	0 2
11.	Robert le Bee	2 messuages	0 1	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
12.	Alice Thedryk	Messuage	4 0	0 11
13.	William Kene	Toft and	4 0	1 1
	Ditto	Toft formerly ffrost's		1 2
14.	Johanna Kene ... ..	... ..	1 0	0 4
	Ditto	1 curtilage		0 1
15.	Robert "le milner" ...	Messuage		
	without buildings		2 0	0 4

¹ This and other tenants were subject to a "custom called Inlayr." It was a payment per head for every animal. In his case horses, sheep, pigs, milch cows, and oxen at work in the plough were exempt. But in the case of the next tenant, milch cows are charged 1d. per head, and oxen $\frac{1}{2}$ d., as also other animals. The custom is distinguished from the obligation to send sheep to lie in the lord's fold "from Whitsuntide to the Purification," for neglecting which an arbitrary amercement might be exacted. Licence might be obtained at 1d. per 8 animals.

	Tenant.		Holding and Land.		Rent.
			s.	d.	
16.	Henry Abot	... .. Messuage	8	0	1 4
17.	John Theyn	... .. Messuage	8	0	1 8½
18.	Walter de Tasburgh	... .. Messuage	5½	0	2 2

Customary Tenants ("custumarii").

1.	Thomas atte fflgate	... .. Messuage	8	0	1 6½
2.	Alice Wodeman...	... Toft... ..	8	0	1 11½
3.	Geoffrey Burny	... .. Messuage	8	0	1 10
4.	Henry Grom	... .. Messuage	8	0	1 4
5.	Thomas Bretain...	... .. Messuage	8	0	1 6½
6.	Thomas Burny	... .. Messuage	6	0	1 0
7.	Geoffrey Starlyngg	... .. Messuage	8	0	1 4½

All the above Tenants, as well Molmen as Custumarii. have to plough twice a year, as the freeholders, if they have a plough, except Ralph Toppe, who is bound to serve as reeve and "messor." [For their other labour services or commutations see next page].

Sum of	At the term of St. Andrew	s. d.	Sum total, £1. 9s. 3½d.
rents in	At the term of the Purifi-	6 7½	And at the Nativity of
money	cation of the Blessed Mary	0 9	the Lord, 24 hens of
as well	At the term of Easter ...	0 4½	rent.
of Mol-	At the term of Pentecost	7 1½	
men as	At the term of St. Peter ad		
of Cus-	Vincula	6 5	
tumarii.	At the term of St. Michael	8 0½	
	Also of hirdelsilver ¹ at Pentecost, 10½		

The Demesne and Summary of the value of the Manor.

RENTS IN MONEY.

Freeholders	...	...	...	...	...	s. s. d.
						1 19 8
Molmen and Customers	...	...	...	...	...	1 9 3½
						3 8 11½
Deduct rents collected and paid to other lords	...	...	...	...	...	0 11 8
						£2 17 3
Besides hirdelsilver	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 10½

¹ This might be money paid to escape the obligation of providing hurdles for the lord's fold.

RENTS IN KIND.

					£.	s.	d.
Barley [? 9 quarters at 4s.]	...	...	...	...	1	16	0
Geese, 7 at 2½d.	...	...	...	...	0	1	5½
Capons, 4 at 2d.	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
Hens, 39 at 1½d.	...	...	...	...	0	4	10½
					<hr/>		
					£2	3	0
					<hr/>		

Works and their commutable value.

			d.	£.	s.	d.	By whom done.
294 Winter works	...	0½	=	0	12	3	42 by each of the 7 customers.
64 Carryings	...	1	=	0	5	4	4 each by 9 molmen and 7 customers.
10 Diggings of turf	...	0½	=	0	0	5	3 by R. Toppe, 7 by the customers.
17 Mill pool cleanings		0¼	=	0	0	4½	1 each by 10 molmen and 7 customers.
17 Church Close Ditch	...	0½	=	0	0	4½	Same as last.
76 Hoeings	...	0½	=	0	1	7	4 each by 12 (P) molmen and 7 customers.
18 Mowings	...	1	=	0	1	6	1 each by customers, rest not specified.
4 Haymakings	...	0½	=	0	0	1	
142 Reapings, without food	2	=	1	3	8		8 by each customer, 8 or 4 by molmen.
106 Boonworks, with food	1	=	0	8	10		5 by freeholders, 4 each by most molmen, and all customers.
Chevage	...			0	0	8	
							£2 14 10½ ¹

¹ The sum total alone is given in the roll, not the separate amounts. 1d. is to be deducted for "drink" given to the mowers, which still leaves 1d. too much. The four haymaking works are an obligation of two or three molmen who were specially bound to pay if they did not work. The rest might be called to do the work when needed, but if not, they paid nothing. "Chevage" (capitagium) was usually a small payment for leave to reside out of the manor. "Boon" (or bene) works were works done by custom at the request of the lord.

Demesne Lands, &c.

			£.	s.	d.
Arable.—38 acres at 6d.	=	0	19	0	
213½ „ 8d.	=	7	2	4	
50 „ 10d.	=	2	1	8	
Meadow.—7 „ 10d.	=	0	5	10	
4 „ 4d.	=	0	1	4	
Herbage, fruit of courtyard (garden), and dovehouse	...	0	4	0	
Turbary ... ..	...	0	2	0	
Two watermills, one windmill, and fishery	...	1	4	0	
Fines of Court ... ..	...	0	4	0	
Unaccounted for ... ..	...	0	7	10	
		£12	12	0	

Sum total of the whole manor, £20. 8s. 0d.

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF BANHAM, 1281.

“Extent of Banham made in the tenth year of the reign of Edward, son of King Henry, by the jurors underwritten, to wit, by Simon Reymond, William atte Water, John Ryche, Ralph [? Canne], Geoffrey Sewale, Hugo son of Peter, John Ulfketel, Stephen Leveday, Richard le Erl, William atte Medwe, Henry de Oxney, William Silveroun, Hugo Elfled, William Annulet, John Lambrych, Richard son of Peter, William Goche, and William Fynck.

“Who say on their oath that the Manor of Banham is held of the lord Earl of Gloucester,¹ in chief for

¹ Gilbert of Clare, who at the age of nineteen succeeded his father Richard in 1262, and afterwards married Johanna, daughter of King Edward.

the third part of a knight's fee, paying to the said lord Earl one mark, when the scutage is at 40s. Also it owes an aid at the marrying of the Earl's first-born son. And they believe likewise at the marrying of his daughter, because they did this in the time of the Earl Richard, father of the Earl that now is. And they believe that the advowson of the Church of Banham belongs to [the lord] of right, and is worth sixty marks. Also they say that to the said manor belongs view of Frankpledge, which ought to be held by the bailiff of the lord, the king's bailiff being present once in the year, the said bailiff of the lord king taking nothing, but hearing "secreta,"¹ and it ought always to be held on the day on which the king's bailiff holds his leet in the said vill. And the bailiff of the lord of the Hundred takes fines (emendas) of bread and beer and all other exactions to be made as well concerning measures as of all other things to the said view pertaining according to the chartered² articles. And also he shall lead to judgment thieves and servants³ taken in the act, in the presence of the bailiff of the king, if he will. And other persons indicted [at the Leet] are taken by the lord's bailiff, and delivered to the bailiff of the lord king, notwithstanding they are to be led to the prison of Norwich by the homage of the lord. And the view is worth, of fixed [payment]⁴, 3s., and, as they believe, the amercements, 20s.

¹ ? Matters kept private as specially touching the interests of the Crown, as treason, &c. See Scargill-Bird, *Guide to the Public Records*, p. 162, on "Baga de Secretis."

² "Cartatos," granted by deed.

³ "Manuales opere captos." Can this be meant for "manu opere captos," persons taken with the stolen goods in their possession? The common franchise of "Infangthief" gave the right at once to execute judgment on such offenders.

⁴ "De certo," a fee called "certum lete."

They say also that the lord has free bull (3s.) and boar (3s.), and stray beasts ($\frac{1}{2}$ mark) of old time and warren through the whole manor by deed of the Lord Henry, late King of England.

They say also that he has a messuage containing 7 acres and 1 rood of land with a moat (fossato), in which is contained a hall, a chamber, a chapel, a knights' chamber, a kitchen (coquina), a grange, a cow-shed (boveria) with a stable under the same roof, and a hen-house (domus ad galenias), and the easement of the aforesaid houses, &c. [is worth 20s.] And the herbage is worth 5s. 2d. And the apple orchards (pomeria) are reckoned at three casks of cyder (dolia cysarici), price of a cask 10s. Sum, 35s. 2d."

Other Profits.

	£.	s.	d.
Arable land, 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	2	9	6
Meadow, 26 acres 1 rood	1	11	3
Several pasture with a fishpond (vivarium)	0	9	3
Common pasture, with fees from commoners	0	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Another called Westmor	1	0	0
Fishery, let to farm	0	1	4
Turbary	0	6	0
Mill (wind ¹) to which suit is owed by all the homage	3	3	0
Wood, 180 acres, with issues	1	6	4
Foldage ²	0	16	0
Chevage ³	0	3	0
Court perquisites, reckoned at	5	0	0

Sum total, £17. 2s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

¹ "The lord shall find the iron, timber, and new making of the mill and the stones. And the millers who may be shall find all repairs, making of limbs, and (sail) cloth, with....."

² A customary fee for every ox, cow, &c., 1d., and for ten sheep outside the lord's fold, 1d.

³ "Every son of the lord's homage who shall serve anyone else than his own father ought to give chevage, 1d."

Freeholders.

Tenant.	Holding.				Rent.	
	Acres.				s.	d.
1. Sir Robert de Tateshale ¹ ...	128	...	...	...	2	0
(of arable land of the lord's demesne, held "per medium.")						
2. William de Lirling ...	40,	in four pieces...	[see below ²]			
3. Walter Swonild, chaplain ...	2,	in one piece	...	0	6	
4. Richard, son of Geoffrey ³ ..	10,	in field of Banham	4	2½		
5. Hugo Fresceint ⁴ ...	½	...	...	1	6	
6. Avelina, widow of John the carpenter ("carpentarii")...	2½	...	...	1	6	
7. William atte Water ⁵ ...	28	of customary land	2	6		

Custumarii.

Tenant.	Holding.				Rent.	
	Arable.		Meadow.		Money.	
	a.	r.	a.	r.	s.	d.
1. John Richer ...	21	0	4	0	0	9
2. Thomas Pyk ...	18	0	4½	0	6	4½
3. Richard Puttok ...	11	0	...	...	0	10½
4. Richard Fissy ...	3	3	...	...	0	5½
5. John Byngbon ...	2	0	...	...	0	6
6. Geoffrey Sewale ...	15	0	1	0	3	0
7. William Swonyld ...	15	0	2	0	1	6½

¹ The lord of the manor at this time was John le Mareschall (*Blomefield* i., 346). Sir Robert was lord of the Manor of Old Bukenham (*ibid.* 373).

² William de Lirling had to render (a) a palfrey or 2 marks of silver; (b) three years after, a mewed (properly moulted) sparrowhawk, good and sound ("esparverium mutarium bonum et integrum") or ½ mark; (c) after three years more, a leash of hounds ("unam lesam leporariorum pulchorum et bonorum"), price 3s. 8½d. Also to do suit and "to go throughout all England on the business of the lord at the lord's cost." This would be the business of the capital lord, the Earl of Gloucester.

³ To do suit at the court every three weeks.

⁴ A "nativus domini" who had bought this holding of William Hert, a "liber homo domini." The next holding was held in dower, to revert to William's heirs.

⁵ This tenant, though classed as a freeholder, held customary land, and had to share in most of the customary services, except week-work, serving as shepherd and carrying outside the manor.

THREE MANORIAL EXTENTS.

	Tenant.	Holding.		Rent.	
		Arable.	Meadow.	Money.	Qrs. of
		s. r.	s. r.	s. d.	Oats.
8.	Thomas Mafrey	7 0	...	0 6½	2
9.	John Richer	8 0	1½ 0	1 1½	4
10.	Simon Wodecok	3½ 0	...	0 4½	1
11.	Ranulph Canne	7 0	...	0 6	2
12.	Susanna, widow	7 0	0 2½	0 8½	3
13.	Stephen Reymond	5 0	½ 0	0 4½	2
14.	Frescentia Cristmesse	2 0	...	0 4	0
15.	Ralph le Erl	7 0	...	0 6½	2
16.	William le Blekestere	2½ 0	...	0 7	0
17.	Stephen Leveday	7 0	...	0 4½	3
18.	William Goche	7 0	½ 0	0 5½	3
19.	William son of Gilbert	7 0	1½ 0	0 4½	2
20.	Roger Ketil	7 0	1 1	0 5½	3
21.	John Goodfar'	11 0	1 0	1 0	4
22.	Hugo son of Peter	3½ 0	0 1	0 4	1
23.	William Puttok	11 0	...	0 8	4
24.	Thomas Oxney	12 0	0 3½	0 10	3
25.	William Gilbert	2 0	...	0 4	0
26.	Geoffrey Distel with William Skut	3½ 0	½ 0	0 6½	1
27.	Beatrix le Blekestere	2 0	...	0 4	0
28.	Hugo Sewale	9 0	...	0 9	4
29.	Richard le Wower	7½ 0	...	0 7½	4
30.	Richard Aleyn	7 0	½ 0	0 7½	2
31.	William Carpenter	11 0	½ 0	0 9½	4
32.	William Fynch	3 0	...	0 4	5½ bs.

and ½ of ½ bushel

Molmen "magne tenure."

1.	Simon Underwoode	7½ 0	...	2 9½	2
2.	John Brything	3½ 0	...	1 6½	1
3.	William Berd	2 0	...	0 8	0
4.	Avelyna Barker	4 0	...	1 11	0
5.	Richard Barker	4 0	...	1 0	0
6.	John Grym	7 0	...	1 11	2
7.	Walter "Molendinarius"	2 0	...	1 0	2
8.	Ralph Philip	2 0	...	1 6½	1
9.	Hugo "Bercarius"	2 0	...	1 6	0

Tenant.	Holding.				Rent.		
	Arable.		Meadow.		Money.	Qrs. of	Oats.
	s.	r.	s.	r.			
10. Ralph ate Milne	5	0	...	...	1 8	2	
11. Walter Leche... ..	5	0	...	...	1 7½	2	
12. Henry Lythfot	3½	0	...	...	1 4	1	
13. Simon Wower	2	0	...	...	1 4	2	
14. William ate Milne	2	0	...	...	1 4	0	
15. Margaret Testard	3½	0	...	...	1 6	1	
16. John "Molendinarius"	2	1	...	...	0 1	0	
17. Hugo Alfred	4	1	...	...	1 6	1	
and 4 bushels							
18. Richard ate Grene	2	0	...	...	1 6	2	
19. Thomas Fysher	5	0	...	...	1 6½	2	
20. William de Prato	2	0	...	...	1 6	2	
21. William Silnerpunt	5	0	...	...	1 6½	2	
22. Alys Sewale	11	0	...	...	1 11	5	
23. Isolda Lescy and Richard son of Philip	4	0	...	...	1 7½	2	
24. Margaret Canne	7	0	...	...	1 8½	3	
25. Richard son of Peter	5	0	...	...	1 6½	2	
26. John Fysher	3	3	...	...	1 6	1	
and 4 bushels							
27. John Huwet ¹	16	0	...	...	0 9	5	
28. John Ulfketel	9	0	1½	0	1 10½	3	
29. William Amiot	7	0	...	...	1 6½	3	
30. John Lambryth and Beatrix Reynold	21	1	0	1	1 5½	5	
31. Frecentia Philip	18	0	1	0	0 10½	4	
32. Alfred Ristel	3½	0	...	...	1 6½	1	
33. Emma Aubry	6	0	1	0	0 9	4	
34. Richard Erl	3½	0	...	...	1 6½	1	
35. William Dosse	2½	0	0	1	0 9	1	
36. William Berd	8	0	0	0½	1 7	3	
37. Alicia Aubry	7	0	2	0	2 5	3	
38. William Frame	4	1	0	0½	1 6½	1	
39. Richard Nistard	3½	0	...	...	1 6	1	
40. Simon Reymond	4	0	2	1	2 11	1	
41. Hugo Sirich	7	0	...	...	1 9	4	

¹ See above, p. 16.

Tenants who owe at County [and] Hundred defence and summons of the King for the whole homage.¹

	Tenant.	Holding.		Rent.		Qrs. of Oats.
		Arable. a. r.	Meadow. a. r.	Money. s. d.		
1.	Simon Reymond William Barcar John de Kenyngchale	...	25½ 0	1 0	6 10	0
2.	Ralph Leveday	...	12 0	...	3 2	0
3.	William Frame	...	8 0	3 0	2 6½	0
4.	William de Breccles	...	10 0	...	3 2	0
5.	William Bole	...	18 0	2 0	2 6	6
6.	Hugo Cotesley	...	12 0	...	2 4	2
7.	Richard Herberd	...	15 0	1 3	3 3	0

Molmen "parve tenure."

1.	Ralph Skut	... 2½ 0	...	2 2	0	
2.	Peter Canne	... 2 0	...	1 4	0	
3.	John Gambun	... 1½ 0	...	1 0	0	
4.	Miles Frost	... 1 0	...	0 6	0	
5.	Roger Syward	... 0 3	...	0 6	0	
6.	Letitia Siloum	... 1 0	...	0 9	0	
7.	Adam Wolverick	... 1½ 0	...	0 0	1	
8.	Richard Leveday	... 1½ 0	...	0 1	1	
9.	Richard Sewale	... 2 0	...	1 6	0	
10.	Alicia Ede	... 1 3	...	0 8	4 bs.	
11.	Adam Cappe	... 1 cottage (cottagegium)	...	1 0	0	
12.	John Oak	... 1 cottage	...	1 0	0	
13.	Nicholas Sawyer	... 1 messuage "ad firmam"	...	1 0	0	
14.	Simon son of Eliot	... 1 0	...	1 0	0	
15.	Richard Hikely	... 0 3	...	0 0	4 bs.	
16.	Alicia Mandevyle	... 0 3	...	0 0	4 bs.	
17.	Petronilla Mandevyle	... 0 3	...	0 0	4 bs.	
18.	Petronilla Berd	... 1 0	...	0 9	0	
19.	Geoffrey ate Water	... 1 cottage	...	0 1	0	
20.	Hugo Coteler	... 1 0	...	0 1	0	
21.	Walter Leche	... 3½ 0	...	1 6	1	
22.	Isolda Seliman	... 1 cottage	...	0 0½	0	

¹ "Tenentes qui debent ad Com' Hundr' defens' et Som' Regis pro toto homagio." Tenants who are bound to answer for the whole homage and in their stead to obey all summonses to act on juries at the County or Hundred Courts.

SERVICES.

Custumarii.—There were three typical tenants. The first was William atte Water, who is the last of the freeholders. His services were (1) To *plough* two days at each of the sowing times of rye, oats, and barley, if he had a plough, if not, to pay 2*d.* at Pentecost. For each ploughing he received six loaves, value 1½*d.* or ½*d.* each. (2) To do eleven days *autumn reaping* without food with one man, price of work, 1*d.*; and three days with the lord's food with one man, receiving dinner at noon and at vespers three loaves, price ¾*d.* For default of each man to pay ½*d.* (3) To *weed* with one man for half a day or pay ½*d.* (4) To *mow* for one day in the lord's meadow, with dinner. If not, he claims to pay nothing, the true value is 1½*d.* (5) To *make* the lord's *hay* with one man for half a day, or pay ½*d.* (6) To *carry* with his own cart the lord's corn or hay for half a day, and have a ½*d.* loaf, or pay according to true value, 1½*d.* (7) To give "*faldagium*," as above. (8) To use the lord's mill in turn with three neighbours. (9) To do suit of court, worth 3*s.* (10) To give as heriot, "*post electionem uxoris*," his second best beast, or 32*d.*; and to give merchet for the marriage of his daughter. (11) To give at St. Andrew eight quarters of oats, price of one quarter, 2*s.*, one half to be good (*bona*) and the other half ().¹ (12) To pay money rent. (13) To serve at the lord's will as reeve, woodward, and harvestman. (14) The nearest heir to give a relief at the lord's will to enter on his father's land.

The second typical tenant, John Richer, the first on

¹ In the Bardwell Inventory mentioned on p. 20, oats are classified as large ("*grosse*") and small ("*minute*"). The former are valued at 2*s.* per quarter, the latter at 1*s.* 4*d.* Perhaps four bushels of large and six of small may be intended. Or the "*bona*" may be "*mensura bona*," piled up measure, and the lost antithesis "*rasa*," or straked measure.

the list of *Custumarii*, follows William in almost all the above obligations, and in addition, (15) has to do the week-work from Michaelmas to August, referred to above (p. 11). (16) To carry three times a year the weight of a coomb of corn towards Thetford, Norwich, or elsewhere for twelve leagues, having for each such work a quarter of a loaf and two herrings, or to pay for each carrying 1*d.*¹ (17) To cart manure, when needed. (18) To give two hens at Christmas or 2*d.*, as he says, but the true value is 1½*d.* each, and twenty eggs at Easter, or ½*d.*, the true value ¾*d.* (19) To serve as shepherd in his turn, and if so, to have five acres of land assigned to that office, with other privileges. (20) To be woodward, with charge of the pigs, with certain privileges and exemptions that year.

Another typical tenant was Richard Fissy (4), who was a type for ten others. The special work appears to be cutting a cartload of wood and carrying it to the hall. He received as much as he could carry, or ¼*d.* In default he paid 1*d.*

Almost every tenant differed from his type in some small points of detail.

Molmen magne tenure.—There was only one type for all these, given under the first name, Simon Underwoode. He had to *reap* in autumn three and a half days without the lord's food, or pay 2*d.*; and three days with food, or pay 1*d.*; to *weed* for half a day, or pay ¼*d.*; to *mow* for one day with dinner, or pay 1½*d.*; or, if not entitled to dinner, 3*d.* [this obligation of payment was denied]; to *plough* twice at the three sowing seasons, receiving each

¹ The carrying above was called "*cariagium*," this is "*averagium*." The former was carting on the manor; this was carrying on a pack horse for a distance, the roads being unfit for carts. The word used in the Inventory for a coomb or quarter of corn (8 bushels) is "*summa*," a seam, properly a horse-load.

time six farthing loaves, or pay 2*d.* at Pentecost, the true value being 3*d.*; to carry corn or hay for half a day with one loaf and cheese, or pay 2*d.*; to make hay, or pay ½*d.* He held the mill in his turn; gave heriot and relief; did suit of court and of the mill; gave foldage for sheep; had to act as reeve, "minister," and woodward; but was not bound to carry abroad or to fold his cattle in the lord's fold. The rest of these molmen only differed from their type in certain details.

An obligation attaching to one of these tenants is as follows:—"Frescentia Philip shall acquit the costs of setting steel on the lord's ploughs. And the lord shall find the steel. And three times she shall acquit the shoeing of one harrowing horse, to wit, with six horse shoes ("et illa acquietabit custos positionis acerri super carucas domini. Et dominus inveniet acerrum. Et per iij vices acquietabit ferr[aturam] unius equi herciantis, scilicet, cum vj ferr[amentis] equinis"). And the setting of the steel with the shoeing of the stotts [horses] is worth 33*d.* And she ought to feed the lord's bailiff and reeve and other servants [servientes] for one day, or give 2*s.*"

Tenants bound to *special Suit of Court*.—These all followed one type, that of Simon Reymond and his two fellows. Their service included three days' ploughing with food; weeding half a day; mowing by one man one day; carrying one day; reaping three days with food; giving heriot, merchet, and relief. They were bound to "defend" the lord's manor before the justices and the county, and at the summons of the king's bailiff [?the hundred court] and elsewhere at their own costs.

Molmen parve tenure.—No type is entered here—some have no services. The most common is three days' reaping with food. Two do three days' ploughing, one does six days', two weed for half a day. The case of Walter

Leche, whose holding followed the type of the other class of molmen, has been noticed above (p. 15).

Summary of *Rents and Services*.

					£.	s.	d.
Sum of	At the term of St. Michael	...	...	...	5	9	2
Rents in	At the term of All Saints	...	...	...	0	0	10½
money.	At the term of Easter	...	...	...	0	11	3
	At the term of the Nativity of St. John Baptist				0	17	11½
	At the term of St. Peter ad Vincula	...	...		0	3	5½
Sum of rents in money	At the term of St. Michael	...			0	6	1
of the Freeholders.	At the term of Easter	...	...		0	3	7½
Sum total, £7. 12s. 4½d. [sic].							

Besides the palfry, which is rendered at the end of nine years, and the good mewed sparrowhawk at the end of six years, and the leash of hounds at the end of three years, as appears above (p. 35 n³).

Sum of fowls of rent	...	...	46 hens and 1 cock.
Sum of geese of rent	...	...	3 geese.
Sum of eggs of rent	...	...	370 eggs, or less ("per minus").
Sum of carriage of wood, 20 cartloads ; price of each, 1d.			
Sum of collection of straw, 32 heads ? (capita) ; price of work, ¼d., if not collected.			
Sum of rent of oats, 167 quarters 7 bushels and two parts of 1 bushel.			
Sum of ploughings per year, 483 or less ; price of a ploughing, 3d.			
Sum of carryings (horse) per year, 99 ; price of a carrying, 1d.			
Sum of reaping works without food, 434 or less ; price of one work, 1d.			
Sum of reaping works with food, 285 ; price of one work, ½d.			
Sum of works between feast of St. Michael and the Gule of August (1 August), 1,462 ; price of one work, ½d.			
Sum of mowing works, 84 ; price of each work, 1d.			
Sum of weeding works, 86 ; price of one work, ¼d.			
Sum of haymaking, 85 half days ; price of one work, ¼d. (but they do not pay, as they say).			
Sum of carting corn and hay, 86 half days ; price of one work, 2d.			

Outlok in Tybenham.

Of John ate Wro for licence of pasturing in the pasture of Banham
Outwode by the year with 180 sheep and 3 rams,

			2 capons	1 hen	20 eggs.
Of John Albry	...	with 2 rams and 240 sheep	4 hens	80	„
„ William Ploket	...	2 „ 120 „	2 „	40	„
„ Robert Goos	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ John Buntynge	...	2 „ 120 „	2 „	40	„
„ William Hawys	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ John Coteler, sen.	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ John Coteler, jun.	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ Thomas Alpe	...	2 „ 120 „	2 „	40	„
„ Roger Reed	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ Roger de Fornecete	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ William Gocher	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ John Housbonde	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ Matilda Brid	...	1 „ 60 „	1 „	20	„
„ William Tadyman de Whydenham,	3 capons.				

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF WYKES IN BARDWELL, SUFFOLK.

“These are the names of the *Freeholders* of Richard¹
son of Henry son of Nicholas de St. Edmund at Wykes.”

Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
		s.	d.	d.
1. Thomas de Stanton	... A wood & 30 acres	4	0	7½ ²
2. Henry le Clerk	... 4 acres	...	0	3 0

¹ In a Lay Subsidy Roll in the Public Record Office (²⁴²) of the date of 1283, under Bardwell, Sir William de Pakenham is described as lord of the Manor of Wykes, and next to him on the Roll comes Henry son of Nicholas de St. Edmund. From this and the occurrence of other names on that Roll and in this Extent, it would seem that the date of the Extent must be about the close of the thirteenth century. Nicholas de St. Edmund successfully claimed the patronage of Bardwell Church against the Prior of Bromholm in 55 Hen. III. (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*, p. 179).

² The amounts are proportional parts of a Scutage of 20s.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
3.	John Estelyn	5 acres	0	8	0
4.	William Aubry de Langham, sen.	2½ acres	3	0	0
5.	William Aubry de Langham, jun.	Messuage & 6 acres	3	0	1½ (a.c.) ¹
6.	John Bude de Langham	Messuage & 20 acres	5	5	5 (a.c.)
7.	Reginald Derling de Asshfeld	1 rood of meadow of tenement Depmere	0	1½	0
8.	Katerine, daughter of Geoffrey de Stanton ...	Tenement "de Burnevill in Gnadeshale"	8	0	7½
9.	William de Brakelond, chaplain	Messuage & 8 acres of tenement Beerd Messuage and 15 acres of tenement William Ayllyd ...	2	0	3½
10.	John son of Thomas de Brakelond	1 acre of tenement Ayllyd purchased of William ...	0	3	0¼
11.	Geoffrey de Houton ...	8 a. with messuage 2 a. of ten. Gerard	2	0	0 (a.c.)
12.	Henry Manser	1 a. of ten. John Symonds	0	5½	0¼
13.	Thomas le Talliur ...	Ditto	0	4½	0¼
14.	Henry Coppele	3½ a.	0	1	0
15.	Peter le Hunte	Mess. of ten. Duk. 1½ a. of ten. J. Symonds 1 a. of ten. W. Aylild	0	0½	} 0½
		Rent received of Thomas le Talliur	0	1	
16.	Henry le Palmer ...	1 a. of ten. J. Symonds	0	4½	0¼
17.	William de Ingham ...	3½ a. of ten. J. Symonds 5 roods of ten. Bude	1	0	} 0½
		Messuage	0	4½	
18.	John le Bercher ...	Messuage	0	2	0 (2g.c.)

¹ See above, p. 22 n¹.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
19.	William de Cauendissah	Messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. J. Symonds	0	3	$0\frac{1}{2}$
20.	William de Littlemor, chaplain	$2\frac{1}{2}$ acres	1	4	} $1\frac{1}{2}$
	Also as mesne between the lord and Hughtred de Anegos, tenant of William	$3\frac{1}{2}$ acres 1 rood ...	0	10	
21.	William Bude, chaplain	Messuage and 1 a. of ten. Finnok ...	0	3	} $0\frac{1}{2}$
		4 a. of ten. Gyngel	1	0	
22.	Henry Alured	1 a. of ten. le Hore	0	6	} $0\frac{3}{4}$
		1 r. of ten. Bude...	0	$4\frac{3}{4}$	
23.	Adam Swyft	1 acre	0	1	0
24.	John son of William Alured	$3\frac{1}{2}$ roods of ten. Hardheved	0	1	$0\frac{1}{4}$
25.	William, son of Hugo Bude	Messuage and toft	0	6	(2 g. c.)
26.	Henry Gowel ¹	Messuage	0	6	0
27.	Henry Bude, chaplain...	Messuage	1	0	} $0\frac{1}{2}$
		3 a. of ten. Finnok	0	9	
		1 a. of ten. le Hore	0	4	
28.	William de Franesham	Messuage	1	0	$0\frac{1}{4}$
29.	John Molendinarius ...	Messuage	2	0	$0\frac{1}{4}$
30.	Genicla Attecherche ...	Messuage	0	10	0
31.	Hughtred de Anegos ...	$2\frac{1}{2}$ acres	4	0	} 2(2 g. c.)
		2 acres of tenement			
		J. Symonds	0	8	
		Messuage and 3 acres of tenement			
		Bude	0	9	
32.	John son of William de Berdewell	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre "in le Scole- tuft"	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	} 0
		Piece of meadow "sub curia Johannis capellani"	1	0	

¹ Has to work one boonday in autumn as the custumarii.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
33.	Robert de Drenkeston ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre "in le Scole-tuft" ...	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Also as mesne between the lord and heirs of Henry Thedred, tenants of Robert ...	1 acre 1 rood at Crudeslond ...	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
34.	Thomas de Littlemor, chaplain ...	Messuage and 11 a. of ten. Precius ... $\frac{1}{2}$ mes. & $\frac{1}{2}$ meadow of tenement J. the chaplain ... 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of same ten. }	1	10	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
			0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
35.	Hughtred de Anegos ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ mes. $\frac{1}{2}$ meadow as above, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of same	1	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
36.	John Precius ¹ ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ mes., &c., as above, } 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of same ... }	0	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
37.	Henry son of Ralph de Berdewell ² ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0
38.	Henry Sephare ...	1 a. of ten. le Hore	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
39.	Walter le ffullere ...	3 a. of ten. Bude	0	3	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
40.	William de Carlton ...	Messuage "de Hologate" ...	0	9	1
41.	William Hauteyn ...	Meadow "sub curia ³ de Hologate" ... 3 acres at Hologate tuft ...	0	6	1
			0	9	

¹ To this tenant is added "and because he holds the eldest-born's part ("eynyciam partem") of the tenement of John the chaplain he shall do suit at all the lord's courts for himself and his parceners." "Eynycia pars," from French aîné, is the prerogative of the eldest co-parcener of an inheritance to choose first. See *Jacob's Law Dictionary*, s.v. "Esneey." These three holdings are plainly portions of a tenement divided on the death of the holder. The rents are apportioned, but the personal obligation of suit of court is assigned to one of the new tenants.

² Among the knights who held fees of the honour of St. Edmund about A.D. 1300, this Henry paid to the Castle Guard of Norwich Castle, six shillings for two knight's fees in "Berdewelle and Stanton" (Kirkpatrick, *Religious Orders in Norwich*, p. 265).

³ The "curia" would be an enclosed courtyard containing the buildings and perhaps garden. "Sub curia," immediately outside the yard.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
42.	William le Bretun	... 5 roods ...	0	2	} 0½
		1 acre of ten. Peet	0	3	
43.	Thomas le Bretun	... 2 acres ...	0	6	} 0½
		1 rood of ten. Thos.			
		Bude de Sutherton	0	0¼	
		1 r. of ten. Thedred	0	0¼	
44.	Robert Pretius	... Mess. & 4 a. of ten			} 1
		Thedred ...	0	4	
		1½ acres of ten. J.			
		Symonds ...	0	5	
		2 acres of ten. Peet	0	6	
		3 a. of ten. J. Capell	0	5½	
45.	Avioia, widow of Roger				
	Thedred	... 1½ a. of ten. Bretun	0	1½	0
46.	Heirs of Henry Thedred	Mess. and 10½ acres	0	10½	} 0½
		5 roods of ten. Peet	0	5	
47.	Heirs of Gilbert Thedred	Mess. and 6 acres	0	6	0
48.	Ralph "faber"	... Messuage, 1½ acres			
		1 r. of ten. Thedred	0	1¼	0
49.	John de Buxhale	... 2½ acres of ten. Peet	0	9	
		5 r. of ten. R. Bude	0	3½	} 1
		3 r. of ten. Bretun	0	0¼	
		1 r. of ten. le Hore	0	0¼	
50.	Edmund le Spenser	... Mess. & 12 acres of			
		ten. Bretun ...	1	0	} 1
		3 acres of ten. Bude	0	7	
		5 roods of ten. Peet	0	3½	
51.	William Hert	... 2½ a. of ten. Le Hore	0	10	} 0½
		1 r. of ten. Th. Bude	0	0¼	
52.	William Tumble	... 1 a. of ten. Bretun	0	1	0
53.	Nicholas Hert	... 1 a. of ten. Bretun	0	1	0
54.	John son of Edmund				
	Shipman	... 1½ a. of ten. Thedred	0	1½	0
55.	William de Sutherton,				
	chaplain	... Messuage "Stur-			
		myn" ...	0	3	0
56.	Thomas Bude de Suthen-				
	ton, clerk	... 5 r. of ten. Finnok	0	3½	0½

	Tenant.		Holding.	Rent.	Scutage.
				s. d.	d.
57.	Peter Julien ...	...	2 a. of ten. Peet	0 6	{ 0½
			½ a. of ten. Bretun	0 0½	
			1 r. of ten. le Hore	0 1½	
58.	John de la fforthie ...	...	3 a. of ten. Warin and Hardheved ...	1 0	0½ (2g.c.)
59.	Thomas Cokerel ...	...	½ a. of ten. le Talliur	0 1½	0½
60.	William Aubry de Wykes		2 acres of ten. J. Symonds ..	0 7	0½
61.	John Shipman ...	...	10 acres 1 rood ...	2 0	2½
62.	Odo, the chaplain ¹ ...	...	Messuage and 1½ a.	0 3	0
63.	Robert del Hel ² ...	...	Messuage and 4 a.	2 0	{ ½ (2g.c.)
	(in margin "ate hyl")	...	3 roods of ten. Peet	0 2½	
64.	Odo the chaplain	...	All these hold mes- suages and 9 acres of ten. Marger' ...	3 0	1½
65.	Thomas Priour	...			
66.	William le Hunte	...			
67.	William de Tatingtre	...			
68.	William Rust, sen.	...			
69.	Richard Hog	...			
70.	Thomas le Hunte	...			
71.	Henry le Chapman	...			
72.	Geoffrey de Houton	...			
73.	Margar' Hayl	...			
74.	William Payn	...			
	Also one court, formerly of William Rust, let to Isabella Rust			0 6	0
75.	Robert le Thachere	...	3 acres	4 0	0
76.	Mem. that Richard "le fuit Nichole" ³ acquired of William son of Thomas de Stanton 2s. 6d. rent, to be collected from ten. Sefrey and from John or Geoffrey Semele (and) William Bude barker, and the sons of Litlemor and others pay the rest			2 6	0

¹ Odo holds of the lord, who holds as mesne between Odo and Henry de Berdewell.

² Has to do three boondays as custumarii.

³ This is meant for "Fitz Nichole," a family name derived by Richard from his grandfather. (See the heading of the Roll).

Custumarii.

Tenant.		Holding.	Rent. s. d.		Scutage. d.
1.	Adam de Depmer de				
	Walsham ¹	Mess. and 2 acres	0	9	0½ (a. c.)
2.	Hugo de Depmer ²	Mess. and 2 acres	0	9	0½ (a. c.)
3.	William de Depmer	Mess. and 15 acres	4	6	3¾ (a. c.)
4.	William Spot	4 acres	1	6	1 (a. c.)
5.	Stephen de Depmer ³	Mess. and 4 acres	1	6	} 1 (a. c.)
		5 acres of same ten.	4	6	
6.	William, son of William				
	Shipman ⁴	Mess. and 6 acres	1	4	} 2½ (a. c.)
		4½ a. 1r. of ten. Galion	0	4	
7.	John Larke	5 acres	0	0	} 0 (a. c.)
		1 pightle of ten.			
	Talbot	1	0		
8.	Geoffrey le Reve	Mess. and 2 acres	0	0	0 (a. c.)
		Mess. and 2 acres of			} 1
		ten. le Hore	0	0	
		5 roods of ten. Hard- heved	0	1½	
9.	Alexander le Saltere de				
	Stanton	Messuage and 6 a.	1	5	1½ (a. c.)
10.	William son of Adam				
	"fabri" de Stanton	1½ acre	0	7	0 (a. c.)
11.	Edmund Godwyne	Messuage and 4 a.	0	0	0 (a. c.)

¹ Also holds freely of fees of other lords; of Albr' Unfrey, 1 rood, rent ½d.; of Ralph le Skinnere half an acre, rent ½d.; of Alice Marger, 1½ rood, rent 1½d.; in all 2d., to be paid to the lord, who will acquit Adam to the other lords. This applies to all similar rents.

² Also freely of other lords, same as Adam, and does same services, "ut predictum est de Adam parcenario suo."

³ Also freely of fees of other lords, Abbot of St. Edmund, 5 roods, rent 1½d.; of Ralph le Skinnere, 1 acre, rent 1d.; of Adam Ingold, 1 acre, rent ½d.; of Albr' Unfrey, half an acre, rent ½d.; of Alec' Marger, 1 acre, rent ½d.; of Thomas Marger, 1 acre, rent ½d.; in all 4½d. to be paid, &c.

⁴ Also freely of William son of Robert Aubry de Langham, 3 acres, rent 3d.; of John Ashcroft, 3 roods, rent 1½d.; of Nicholas de Stanton, 1 acre, rent 2d.; in all 6½d.

	Tenant.		Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
				s.	d.	d.
12.	Ralph Hog	...	Messuage and 4 a. of tenement Drayl	4	0	0 (2 g.c.)
13.	William le Knyght	...	Messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ a.	0	4	0 (a. c.)
14.	Robert le Do ¹	...	Messuage and $1\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. Beumund	0	3	} 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
			3 r. of ten. Aylild	0	1	
15.	John le Do	...	Messuage and 4 a. $1\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. Beumund	0	0	0 (a. c.)
				0	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
16.	Henry le Palmere	...	2 a. of ten. Beumund	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
17.	Walter le Palmere	...	Messuage and 4 a. of tenement Grace	0	0	0 (a. c.)
			2 a. of ten. Beumund	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
18.	John Bude	...	Messuage and 12 a.	0	0	0 (a. c.)
19.	Adam Aunselm...	...	Messuage and 3 a.	1	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
20.	Geoffrey Bude ²	...	Messuage and $\frac{3}{4}$ a. of ten. le Hore; 8 a. of ten. Hardheved	0	8	} 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
			1 acre acquired of John Polle; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre acquired of J. Bude	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
			$\frac{3}{4}$ a. of ten. Bude	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
21.	Alicia, daughter of Geoffrey Bude	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre and $\frac{1}{2}$ rood	0	1	0
22.	Henryson of Hugo Bude ³	...	Messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. le Hore	0	0	} 1 (a. c.)
			3 a. of ten. Hardheved	0	3	
23.	Thomas de Littlemor, ⁴ chaplain	...	2 mess. and 26 acres	3	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)

¹ Also freely of Alic Brighthwyne de Stanton, 2 acres 1 rood, rent 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of John de Buxhale, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; in all 3d.

² Also freely of Alex. de Stanton, 1 acre, rent 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Thomas Oldegood, 1 rood, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Adam Reynald de Stanton, $\frac{3}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; of Church of St. Peter of Berdewell, 1 rood, rent $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; in all 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

³ Also freely of Alexander de Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Thomas Oldegood, $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, rent $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; of Adam Reynald de Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; in all 1d.

⁴ Holds for his life. After his death his heirs to do services in addition to same rent.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.	
			s.	d.	d.	
24.	Geoffrey son of William de Littlemor ...	Mess. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ a. 1 r.	0	$6\frac{1}{2}$	1	
25.	William son of William de Littlemor ...	Each of these being partners of Geoffrey, holds & does as Geoffrey ...	1	1	2	
26.	John, his brother ¹ ...					
27.	Ralph Payn ...	Mess. and 4 acres	0	0	0	(a. c.)
28.	Henry Godefrey ...	$3\frac{1}{2}$ acres ...	6	0	0	(a. c.)
29.	Henry Rust, sen. ² ...	Mess. and 6 acres Mess. and 1 acre of ten. Hereward, 3 roods of ten. J. Symonds ...	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$	$0\frac{1}{2}$	
30.	William Payn ³ ...	Mess. and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres and 1 a. of meadow of ten. Bretun ...				
31.	Geoffrey Wyote...	Messuage and 1 a. And for ten. Bretun	0	2	$0\frac{1}{2}$	(a. c.)
32.	Stephen Wyote, ⁴ brother of Geoffrey ...	Same as preceding	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$	0	

¹ These three tenants hold freely, "de perquisitis ejusdem Willelmi," $16\frac{1}{2}$ acres, rendering $16d.$, viz., to Alex. de Stanton, $5d.$; to the hall of Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Nicholas Wulurich of the same, $1d.$; to Thomas Priour of the same, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to William Hathewulf of the same, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to William le Bretun, $2d.$; to Richard Armeiard, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to John de Buxhale, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Robert Attehel, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Henry de Berdewell, $1d.$; to William le Hunte (as of the right of Margaret his wife) $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Adam Aunselm, $1d.$; to Church of St. Peter of Bardwell, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Robert le Do, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to be paid to the lord, who will acquit them to the other lords.

² Also of William de Brakelond, chaplain, 1 rood, rent $1d.$; and of Adam Aunselm, 1 acre, rent, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; in all, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$

³ Also freely of John son of William, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, rent $11d.$; of Adam Aunselm, 3 acres, service $2d.$; to Thomas Redheved, 1 rood, service $1d.$; of the heirs of Thomas Mus, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre and $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Katherine, daughter of Geoffrey de Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1d.$; of Richard de la Dale, 1 rood of meadow, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Peter Atteherne, $\frac{1}{2}$ rood of land and meadow, rent $\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Robert Abot, $1\frac{1}{2}$ rood, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Henry de Berdewall, 1 rood of meadow, rent $2d.$; of Henry Manser, 1 acre, rent $2d.$; in all $1s. 11\frac{1}{2}d.$

⁴ Also freely of Katherine de Ayscroft, 3 roods, rent $3d.$

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
33.	Robert Dumbhowe ¹ ...	Messuage and 2 a.	0	3½	0½ (a. c.)
34.	Pagan Dumbhowe ...	Each same as { Robert ...	0	3½	0½
35.	William, his brother ...		0	3½	0½
36.	William le Hunte ...	Messuage and 6 a. of ten. Bude ... 2 acres of ten. Rust ½ acre of ten. Hog ½ acre of meadow	3	3	0½ (a. c.)
37.	Peter Alecok ² ...	Messuage and 5 a. of tenement Hog 1 a. of ten. Gerard	0	10	1½ (a. c.) 0
38.	Richard Hog ³ ...	Messuage and 7½ a.	1	3	2 (a. c.)
39.	Adam Alecok ⁴ ...	Mess. and 3½ acres	0	4	1 (a. c.)
40.	Peter Alecok ...	Same as Adam, ½ a.	0	4	1
41.	Heirs of Henry Rodlond	Same as Adam and Peter, 7 acres ...	0	8	2
42.	Robert de Tatingtre ...	All same as Adam, 14 acres.	1	4	4
43.	John de Tatingtre ...				
44.	Roger de Tatingtre ...				
45.	William de Tatingtre ...	Same as heirs of Rodlond, 14 a.	1	4	4
46.	Thomas le Ropere ...				
47.	John son of Stephen ad crucem ...				

¹ Robert holds freely of Church of Berdewell, ½ acre, rent ½d.; Pagan holds freely of John son of William, ½ acre, rent 1d.; and of Thomas Redheved, 1 rood, rent 1d.; Robert, Pagan, and William hold freely of Church of Berdewell, 2 acres, rent 2d.; and of heirs of Thomas Mus, ½ acre, rent 1½d.; in all 5½d. In margin against this entry is marked "Estrete," which includes the tenants from William Payn (30), to W. Dumbhowe (35).

² Also freely, by right of Alvena his wife, of Alex. de Stanton, 1½ acre, rent 8d.; of Robert Balheved, 3 roods, rent 1d.; of Henry de Berdewell, ½ acre, rent 2d.; of heirs of Thomas Mus, ½d.; in all 11½d.

³ Also freely of John son of William, ½ acre, rent 1½d.; of Henry de Berdewell, ½ acre, rent 1d.; of heirs of Thomas Mus, ½ acre, rent 1½d.; of Peter le Hunte, ½ acre, rent 1d.; in all 5d.

⁴ All the tenants from 39 down to 47 form a group marked as "Westrete," holding equal shares of 3½ acres each, except 41, 46, and 47, who hold double portions. See above, p. 20.

Tenant.	Holding.	Rent. s. d.	Scutage. d.
48. Heirs of Alured le ffishere	Mess. and 4 acres, 6 acres of ten. Shanke, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre called Stonyland	0 1	0 (a. c.)
49. Heirs of William Abelot ...	Mess. and 1 acre		
		s. s. d.	
Sum of rent at term of St. Michael ...		3 6 10	
Sum of rent at term of Easter ...		3 3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sum of total rent per annum ...		6 10 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	

SERVICES.

Freeholders.—Except in the case of two specified above as owing four boondays, no labour services are required of the freeholders.

Custumarii.—These are of great interest, but it is impossible here to note more than their main features. The first, Adam de Depmer, is a type of a somewhat light service. He pays rent and scutage and does suit at all courts. "And he shall work in autumn three-quarters of one beneday with the lord's food once in the day. And if the beneday has been a whole day he is to have his dinner and supper of the lord, according to the custom of the manor, to wit, that of one bushel of corn shall be baked sixteen loaves, whereof two labourers with the lord's food shall have at their dinner two loaves and vegetables (legumen) and one dish (ferculum) of meat or fish and use of the oven (fornagium). And at his supper each labourer by himself [to take to his own home] one loaf of the aforesaid measure and two herrings."

The seventh tenant, John Larke, forms a type of another kind of service. His entry runs thus: "John Larke holds 5 acres of land. And he shall reap in autumn four goulacres without the lord's food, to wit, two of winter corn (de blado yemali) and two of barley. And he shall work in autumn three benedays with the lord's food, as

has been aforesaid of Adam de Depmer. And he shall give at the Nativity of the Lord one hen and at Easter six eggs. And he shall work yearly from the feast of St. Michael every week one work—except the Nativity of the Lord and the weeks of Easter and Pentecost—until he shall have done forty works. So, however, that if he shall have dug or made ditches (*fossata*) or worked any other work on the land (*opus terraneum*) for a whole day it shall be allowed him for two works. And if he shall have thrashed and cleaned (*triturerit et emundaverit*) one quarter of wheat or rye (*frumenti aut siliginis*) beans or peas it shall be allowed him for four works. And for thrashing and cleaning of one quarter of barley he shall be allowed for one work. Likewise in time of weeding (*sarculationis*) for every whole day on which he has hoed the lord's corn before the feast of St. John Baptist shall be allowed him two works, and after that feast one work only. And in time of mowing (*falcationis*) in respect of haymaking (*circa fena colligenda*) for every whole day two works."

The main points here are the scale of allowances towards making up the requisite number of week-works and the reaping of "gouilacres." Reference has already been made to this service (p. 19). It is rendered by about half the customary tenants, not in any case by freeholders, and is attached to certain specified portions of their holdings. It may be as well to quote some other instances. Geoffrey le Reve (8) has to reap 4 gouilacres in respect of a messuage and 2 acres of land; and again, 1 gouilacre in respect of a messuage and 2 acres of tenement le Hore; and $\frac{1}{2}$ gouilacre in respect of 5 roods of tenement Hardheved. The four tenants, numbered 14 to 17, evidently form a group. Robert and John le Do each hold $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre, and Henry and Walter le Palmer each hold 2 acres, all of tenement Beumund. In respect of these holdings each has to

reap half an acre and half a rood and 3 "pedates" of 1 goul-acre. Or take the case of Adam Alecock (39) who stands for the type of the "Westrete" group. Each holds $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and each has to reap in autumn "half a goul-acre, half a rood, $2\frac{1}{2}$ pedates and a quarter of a pedate" ($2\frac{3}{4}$ pedates). It is difficult from our Roll to form any judgment as to the precise nature of this service, or what were the lands in respect of which it was performed. In John Larke's case his holding of 5 acres is apparently an ordinary holding of customary land, and the obligation is spoken of as a service similar to that of week-work, which follows it. The "goul-acres" therefore would seem to be some special portion of the lord's land, so called, on which ordinary labour service could not be required. And this may account for the special measure of "pedates" applied to it. A "goul-acre" is divided into roods and pedates. Du Cange gives us a word "peda," which contains "4 teisas," a teisa being 6 feet square. A "peda" would be a piece of ground 24 feet square. Several of our entries suggest a different measure for a "pedata." Thus Adam Aunselm (19) holds 3 acres, and has to reap $2\frac{1}{2}$ goul-acres and 11 pedates. It is a reasonable guess that the 11 pedates make half an acre, so that the land on which he worked was equivalent in measure to that which he held. This would give 22 pedates to 1 acre. In confirmation of this, G. Bude (20) holds $\frac{2}{3}$ acre of tenement le Hore, and reaps $14\frac{1}{2}$ pedates, while Henry son of Hugo Bude (22) holds the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ of this acre, and has to reap $7\frac{1}{2}$ pedates. This again makes 22 pedates to an acre. Moreover, in (37) we have mention of $5\frac{1}{2}$ pedates, and in the "Westrete" group referred to above of $2\frac{3}{4}$ pedates, both proportional parts of 22. It must be admitted that the other cases do not fall in with this equality in size between the land held and the land reaped. But that equality may have been made up in other ways; and in the

cases quoted it can hardly be a mere coincidence. Now Walter of Henley¹ says at this period, "You know well that a furlong ought to be 40 perches long and 4 wide, and the king's perch is 16½ feet; then an acre is 66 feet [22 yards] in width." A pedate, therefore, if the twenty-second part of an acre, might be a strip a yard wide. This would be about the width a reaper would cover, grasping the corn stalks with his left hand and using a short sickle with his right.²

One other typical service is worthy of notice. Geoffrey le Reve "shall help to carry the lord's fold thrice in the year, as he shall have been forewarned by the shepherd, to wit, each time five naked hurdles (cleyas nudas), and if they are wattled (?), only three (et si wiscate fuerint, nisi tres)." Also in respect of his other holding "he shall give ½d. towards one plough every year, and every third year ½d. towards one two-wheeled cart (ad unam bigam)." With regard to the hurdles, Martin (*Record Interpreter*) gives a word "wiscare," to mend. But this seems so unsuitable in this context, especially as "wiscatæ" is plainly opposed to "nudæ," that I venture to think the first word describes plain open hurdles, and the other hurdles covered with interwoven osiers. The former would be much easier to carry.

¹ Miss Lamond's Edition, p. 9. A diagram is given in Cunningham, p. 114.

² See the excellent illustrations of reaping and other agricultural works in Green's *History of the English People*, illustrated edition, by Mrs. Green, vol. ii. pp. 476 and 499.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—"Hutshote," p. 26. Another possible explanation of this word may be given. "Outshot" or "Outshut" was a name applied to a room or other building added to a primitive timber-framed house, and made accessible by piercing the walls without interfering with the timber frame-work. The "2 hens" rendered by Geoffrey le Blo "pro hutshote" may have been an acknowledgment of such an additional accommodation provided for his cottage. See Addy, *Evolution of the English House* (Social England Series), pp. xxi., 42, 60.

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PLATE I. SOUTH LOPHAM CHURCH.
NORTH-WEST WALL OF NAVE.

South Lopham Church.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. CANON MANNING, M.A., F.S.A.

THIS church is, to an antiquary, much the most interesting of those we have seen to-day¹; and to the student of architecture it presents a fine example of the earliest English style. We have here not only a massive Norman central tower, which from its high situation forms a conspicuous feature in the landscape, but also, as I believe, considerable remains of pre-Norman or pre-Conquest masonry, in the whole length of the north wall of the nave. If this be so, it is convenient to call such work "Saxon," although in the older books of architecture and topography you will find a great deal of what is

¹ This paper was read by the Rev. Canon Manning at South Lopham Church, on the occasion of an excursion to local churches organised by the University Extension Committee. At the request of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society he had engaged to re-write it for publication in this present issue, and at the time of his lamented death he was understood to have been doing so. He was known to have made arrangements about the accompanying illustrations. No such MS., however, was found amongst his papers. The Committee therefore decided to reprint the Paper as read at the time and published in the *Diss Express* of October 21st, 1898. It will be read with regret as the last of the numerous contributions of its gifted author to the Original Papers of this Society.

much later than the Norman Conquest called Saxon. A large number of country churches in Norfolk and Suffolk, as elsewhere, have features of this pre-Norman class. They consist of thick rubble walls, usually preserved on the north side only, with large flints laid generally in regular courses, as at Scole and Thorpe Abbots; small windows mostly circular, deeply splayed both inwards and outwards, as in the one here; quoins of "long-and-short" work, as in a fragment at Scole; arches without ashlar facing, with little or no imposts (Gissing may be one); occasionally triangular arches to doorways and windows, as at Great Dunham; towers, either round with round windows, or square without quoins, and with baluster-shafts in the windows, as at Great Dunham, Haddiscoe, and St. Benet's, Cambridge.

In a few notes I read some years ago at Framingham Earl, near Norwich, where there are chancel windows exactly like this one here, with a wooden frame and eyelet holes in it, to pass cords or osiers through to keep out birds and weather, I referred to one probable cause for the apparently sudden increase in church building immediately after the year 1000. There had been a common idea everywhere that the millenium was to arrive in the year 1000, and the world would come to an end, consequently there was not much effort or spirit in expensive undertakings, and with architects and masons no doubt "business was dull." But as soon as the critical year was over, and nothing had happened, church building among other things would revive; wooden structures were replaced by stone; the Saxon lords, about the time of Edward the Confessor, built or renewed churches on their estates until they lost their land and manors, deprived of them by the conquering William, who distributed them afresh among his nobles.

There is no mention of a church at Lopham in *Domesday*

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PLATE II. SOUTH LOPHAM CHURCH.

Book; but that is of no weight in disproof of one having existed there. There are very many similar cases. The object of the great Survey in 1086 had nothing to do with enumerating the churches. It was to ascertain for the Conqueror the amount of taxable land, and how much stock, &c., it would support, in order to get a fair assessment. The Commissioners might sometimes mention a church and glebe, or not; for often the value of the glebe would be included in the gross rental of the owners. I venture to think that we have here the north wall of a church built in the first quarter of the eleventh century, or about 1020. The little round window (Plate I.) with its wooden frame still preserved is most curious, and I trust the parish authorities will always see that it remains safe and untouched. There was, probably, a series of such windows in the wall, and they may be there now, blocked up. The opposite wall on the south side was of course destroyed when the aisle was built. There may have been a round tower at the west end. The chancel must have stood where the present tower is, and beyond, and probably had a round apse at the east end.

The next portion of the church in regard to date is the fine central tower (Plate II). This grand example of Norman architecture, surrounded by fine trees, has long been a study both for the antiquary and the artist. The etching which Cotman published of it has given a character of rudeness and age to the masonry that exceeds the reality. It must be admitted to be the most important building of the kind in the neighbourhood or indeed in the county; for omitting the Cathedral tower I know of no other superior to it. We find from Blomefield's history, whose account here there seems no reason to question, that "Roger Bygot, Earl of Norfolk, who was possessed of this manor at the Survey, died in 1107, and was buried in the priory church at Thetford, which he had built, leaving William

his son and heir, who gave the church at Lopham to the monks of Thetford in the time of Henry I., which was appropriated and then confirmed to that house, with all its appurtenances, by King Henry II." ¹ The architecture of the tower is consistent with work of the early part of the twelfth century, and I would therefore place its date at about 1110. It is divided into five stages. Externally, the lower stage has a Norman doorway on the south side, with a decorated window inserted. The second has two large semi-circular arches, filling the whole width of the tower, proving that the church could not have had transepts. The third has an arcade of six semi-circular arches on shafts, with cushion capitals, two of the arches being pierced for light. On the north face these are reduced to four by a large projecting square staircase extending from the ground to the top. The fourth stage has a double Norman window, and the uppermost has a large double belfry window with cushion capitals, and on each face a pair of round sound-holes not splayed either way. This is surmounted by a battlement of Perpendicular date. On the east and west faces of the tower is a pair of small flat buttresses rising into semi-circular shafts in the upper stages, and finishing with capitals. The south side has two large buttresses of six stages. Internally, the tower has two good round plain arches (Plate III.) opening into the nave on the west, and to the chancel on the east. These used to be entirely filled up from the spring of the arches with a wooden ringers' gallery, apparently of the sixteenth century, which probably also served the purpose of a rood-loft, some carving having remained on the western side. Some years ago, when the Rev. J. F. Bateman was rector, this gallery was elevated a stage higher in the tower, leaving the arches clear, which was

¹ Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, 8vo. i. 228.



PLATE III. SOUTH LOPHAM CHURCH.

INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.

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an improvement in the appearance, but at the sacrifice of an example of ancient arrangement.

It may be a question in the minds of some why a church was built with a tower in the middle, causing the chancel to be separated from the nave by a narrow space. The use prevailed from very early times, but seems to have gone out of fashion, except for very large churches, after the Norman period. Where there were no transepts, as in this church, the sight from the nave through the tower is a good deal obscured, but we must remember that no aisles were provided at first. Of course in cathedrals and conventual churches, with wide arches and lofty piers, there is no obstruction to the view. I believe that the object was, where funds sufficient were forthcoming, to give dignity and stateliness to the building, and make a fine architectural composition, and as the chancel or eastern arm would be short, the choir stalls would extend under the tower, and thus the arrangement would be fairly convenient, and more so than it may seem to us now. Our forefathers did not build to please the gaze of "trippers," nor without good reasons, but for worship, and use and durability. The light from Norman windows was dim, as well as religious, and when in later styles large windows and floods of light were introduced, the central towers appeared no more; and as aisles were generally added, and often chantry chapels besides, the towers frequently tumbled down, and that is why we have so few of them left.

The rest of the church is of later date. The chancel, according to Blomefield,¹ was built (but you now see it much restored) by Nicholas de Horton, Rector from 1361 to 1380, and the nave pillars and the aisle were apparently erected at the same time. The clustered pillars and the

¹ *Ibm.* p. 232, note 4.

late Decorated windows of the aisle, are characteristic of the style prevalent in the latter part of the reign of Edward III., when flowing tracery succeeded to geometrical, and soon began to show symptoms of transition to the Perpendicular style. Windows of the pattern seen here are rather common in the neighbourhood, and there are some good examples at Attleborough. The font is also to be ascribed to the same date. The large west window of the nave and the clerestory windows and the roof are Perpendicular. Between the clerestory windows outside are flint panels with monograms. There is one of the small windows called "Low-side," for want of a better name, in the chancel, the use of which has been the subject of very long controversy. It seems likely that in most cases they were intended for ringing an outside sanctus bell. A chapel, formerly on the north side of the chancel, was only evidenced by a piscina on the outside wall until recent years, when a vestry has been built on the site.

During the inspection of the church by the visitors the Rev. E. Farrer called attention to a poppyhead under the tower, with an elephant and castle upon it, the badge of the Beaumont family. Katherine, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, held the Manor of Lopham in dower, after the Duke's death in 1432, and married for her third husband some years later, John, Viscount Beaumont, who was killed in battle in 1460. The date of this woodwork, and probably of other Perpendicular work, would therefore be fixed at about 1450-60.

Several of the party ascended the tower, and enjoyed the grand view from this the highest point in Norfolk; and also from the Rectory Garden, where tea was provided.

NOTES ON

The Palimpsest Brass of Robert Rugge, 1558,

*In the Church of St. John Maddermarket,
Norwich.¹*

COMMUNICATED BY

MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A.

PREVIOUSLY to the restoration of the Church of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, in 1863, it was thought desirable to detach the monumental brasses from their slabs and to remove them temporarily from the church, in order to ensure their better preservation. A small piece of the Rugge brass had been for some time loose in the church chest, and was known to be palimpsest. An examination of the remaining plates showed that nearly the whole of the brass was made up of earlier pieces.

THE OBVERSE.

The brass to Robert and Elizabeth Rugge is of a type common in Norwich churches. It is of rough coarse

¹ In 1863 the late Mr. John L'Estrange read to the Society a paper on "The Discovery of the Rugge Palimpsest." A MS. copy, which is in the possession of Mr. E. A. Tillett of Norwich, has been kindly lent to me, and the following paper is partly based upon it.

workmanship, being a product of the local school of engravers. In all it originally consisted of fourteen pieces, as follows:—

(1) The figure of Robert Rugge in civic mantle, the lower part of the legs and the feet wanting. In its present condition the figure measures $37\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length.

(2) A scroll proceeding from his mouth. This scroll has twisted ends, it measures 13 ins. by 2 ins., and is inscribed—

*Pater de celis deus
miserere nobis.*

(3) The figure of Elizabeth Rugge, measuring 35 ins. in length. She wears the kennel-shaped head dress and the usual under and over-gown of the period. The latter is fastened round the waist by a silken cord with knotted ends.

(4) A scroll from her mouth similar to (2), but inscribed—

*Fili redemptor mundi deus
miserere nobis.*

(5) A shield between the heads of the figures, having the initials R.E. interlaced by knot work.

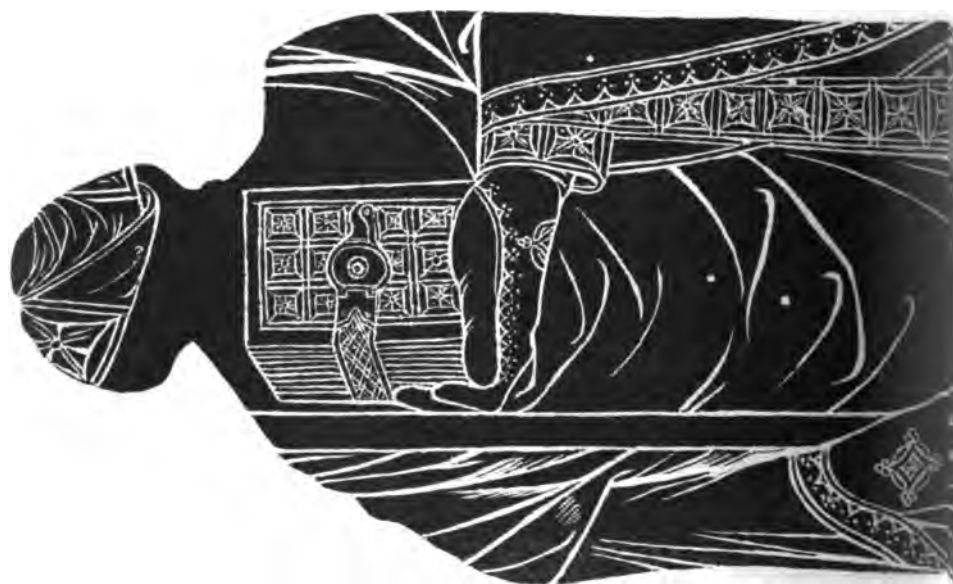
(6) A bracket upon which the figures stand and which bears the inscription—

*Of your charytie praye for the soules of Robarte Rugge Esquier
sometime alderman and twyse Mayor of this worshipfull citie of
Norwich, and Elezabeth his wyffe which had issue betwixe them
fye sonnes and iij daughters and the saide Robt Rugge
departed this transitory life the xviij dage of Februarie in
the yeare of our Lord God 1558, of whose soules
sage pou Jesu haue mercye Amen.*

This bracket measures $31\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 24 ins.

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NORWICH. ST. JOHN MADDERMARKEET.

PALIMPSEST REVERSES OF ROBERT RUOGE. 1056.

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(7) A square plate, $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins., bearing the kneeling figures of five sons in doublets and knee breeches.

(8) A scroll proceeding from the corner of the plate, similar in style to (2) and (4), but inscribed—

*Deus propicius esto
animabus parentū nr̄or'.*

(9) A square plate, bearing the figures of the daughters; lost.

(10) A scroll similar to (8).

(11) A shield at the upper dexter corner, charged with the arms of Rugge, (*Gules*), a *chevron engrailed between three pierced mullets (argent)*, with helmet, mantling, and crest, *A talbot passant, argent; collared, ringed, and eared sable.*

(12) A shield at the upper sinister corner, charged with the arms of Rugge only.

(13) A shield at the lower dexter corner, with the merchant's mark of Rugge; now lost.

(14) A shield at the lower sinister corner, with the arms of the Mercers' Company.

The brass was formerly on the floor of the south aisle, but is now fastened to the wall of the north aisle, and is in a disgraceful condition from damp and neglect. It is engraved, somewhat inaccurately, in J. S. Cotman's *Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, vol. i., pl. 70.

Robert Rugge was Sheriff of Norwich in 1537, Mayor in 1545, and again in 1550. His brother, William Rugge, was the last Abbot of St. Benet's Hulme, and subsequently Bishop of Norwich from 1536 to 1550. Robert was twice married: the date of the death of his first wife, Elizabeth, is unknown; his second wife was Alice, widow of William Hare: she survived him, and was buried at Plumstead.

REVERSES.

(1) The figure of Robert Rugge. This is made up of two plates, respectively measuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and 18 ins., and consists of the greater portion of the centre of a large and early figure of an abbot. The figure is habited in amice, albe, maniple with broad-fringed end, and chasuble. The apparels of the albe are continued entirely round the wrists, and the amice lies loosely round the neck. The hands are encased in rich gloves, the right holding the stem of the crosier, whilst the left supports a large richly-bound and clasped book. As the lower part of the figure is wanting, except two fragments used for scrolls, it is impossible to say what other vestments were worn. The date appears to be about 1320, and the figure may be compared with that formerly at Oulton, Suffolk, to Adam de Bacon, rector, who was living in 1318, but whose brass is generally dated about 1310.¹ Effigies of abbots holding books are not uncommon, but only one brass has so far been noticed. It is at Adderley, Shropshire, to an unknown abbot, date about 1390.²

(2) and (4) Scrolls. These are both cut from the lower part of the figure of the abbot. No. (2) shows a part of the staff of the crosier and a portion of the orphrey of the chasuble. No. (4) shows part of the apparel of the albe at the feet of the figure, and also a portion of a lion's face, showing that the figure had, as in the case at Oulton, a lion at the feet.

¹ Engraved in J. S. Cotman's *Scpulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, vol. ii., pl. iii.; Rev. C. Boutell's *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, p. 95; Rev. H. Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses* (1861), Intro., p. cxlii.; *Photolithograph* privately published by E. M. Beloe, jun.; *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. i., p. 355.

² Engraved in *Archæological Journal*, vol. lii., p. 53.

(3) The figure of Elizabeth Rugge. This is made up of three pieces, respectively measuring 15 ins., $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. All belong to the figure of a priest in mass vestments, and may be dated about 1340.

(5) Shield with initials. This is cut out of a larger shield bearing the arms of Fastolf, *Quarterly (or) and (azure) on a bend (gules) three crosses crosslet (or)*.

(6) Bracket. The greater portion of this is blank, only the finial being palimpsest. Mr. L'Estrange says it bears a portion of a lion. The Rev. H. Haines says a portion of a canopy, but the rubbings are so indistinct, owing to the pitch on the plate, that it is impossible to say what may be intended.

(7) The sons. Blank.

(8) Scroll. Made up of bits of an armed figure and half a lion's head. Date about 1440.

(9) The daughters. Lost.

(10) Scroll. Blank.

(11) }
(12) } Rugge arms. Blank.

(13) Merchant's mark. Lost.

(14) Mercers' arms. Cut out of the figure of a lady in kirtle and mantle, c. 1440.

In all there appear to be portions of five brasses, perhaps six, if the doubtful bit of bracket is reckoned in, re-used to make up Rugge's memorial. It must be borne in mind that at this period the brass makers' shops were full of old material, the result of the spoliation of the monasteries and religious houses. Is the brass simply a make-up from this old material, gathered from various sources, or can it be identified as spoil from any particular Norfolk house? Beyond the arms of Fastolf and the

relationship between Robert and William Rugge, there is no certain ground to go upon. It may be conjectured that Robert Rugge, through his relationship with the last abbot, enjoyed great facilities for purchasing spoil from the dissolved abbey of St. Benet's Hulme. For the moment let it be supposed he did. It is known that Sir John Fastolf was buried in the abbey in 1459, in a chapel which he had erected on the north side of the presbitery, where his wife Milicent, a daughter of Sir Thomas Tiptoft, was also buried. It is not easy to date small cut-up pieces of brass; possibly the fragments of the armed figure, the lady, and the shield may have belonged together.

The evidence as to the arms of the Fastolf family is very confusing. They were divided into two branches, one of which was long settled in Norfolk, at Yarmouth, and the other at Pettaugh in Suffolk. Both of these seem to have carried three escallops on the bend. See Suckling, *History of Suffolk*, ii. 41; Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* (8vo.) vi. 97, vii. 382. In the latter history, however (viii. 150), it is stated that "Sir Henry Repps married a Fastolf who bore quarterly, or and azure, on a bend gules three cross crosslets or." So also in vol. ii. p. 544, where a rhyming pedigree of the Wodehouse family is accused of error in attributing to the Fastolfs "Upon a bend of Gules White Scallops three," instead of "crosslets three." Yet in this same History, under Pulham St. Margaret (v. 390), speaking of an effigies of Sir John Fastolf placed in a window of the church by Sir John Howes, then rector, and one of Sir John Fastolf's executors, in which the charge on the bend is "three crosslets trefflé arg.," the writer states in a foot-note, "All the family of the Fastolfs, *except Sir John*, bore hree escallops arg. on the bend." This view of the case is also taken in a paper in *Norfolk Archæology* (ii. 171),

on "Some Shields in the Ceiling of the South Aisle of St. Nicholas Church, Great Yarmouth," by Thomas William King, F.S.A., Rouge Dragon. In a somewhat full discussion of the Fastolf arms the author says, "I think it highly probable that the crosses were borne by him (Sir John Fastolf) only, and that the families of Norfolk and Suffolk were not distinguished from each other by the crosses or escallops respectively." On the whole, therefore, it is not impossible that our fragment may have been part of a brass commemorating Sir John himself.

There are no means of identifying the abbot: he may have come from any house. If from St. Benet's, it may have represented Nicholas de Walesham, who died in 1302, or Henry de Brook, who died in 1325.

As the abbey was dissolved in 1536, and Robert Rugge died in 1558, it is hardly likely that he would keep a large mass of brass in stock for so many years, wherewith to have his own memorial made. It is much more probable that his executors ordered the brass from the local maker, who turned over his stock in search of likely plates, and finally picked out these as most suitable, unwittingly leaving to future generations a complicated puzzle.

Great Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports.

REPORT BY THE BAILIFFS OF THE
CINQUE PORTS AFTER THEIR VISIT TO GT. YARMOUTH
DURING THE FREE FAIR, 1594.

COMMUNICATED BY
WILLIAM L. RUTTON, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE archives of the Cinque Port, New Romney, contain about forty reports of the nature of that now presented, and a few years since I had the opportunity of obtaining transcripts of some of them. The dates range between 1582 and 1639, an interval of fifty-seven years, which forming but a fraction of the centuries during which the connection of the Cinque Ports and Great Yarmouth existed, it is highly probable that many of this series of reports are to be found in other archives, or in private hands.

Half a century since Charles John Palmer revived the memory of the ancient connection by publishing the MS. of the elder Manship's *Greate Yermouthe*, and a few years later he produced his *History of Great Yarmouth*, being the younger Manship's *History* with considerable extension. Again, ten years since, Professor Montagu Burrows, in his *Cinque Ports* (one of the *Historic Towns* series), showed the authority they in old times exercised at Yarmouth. Thus but a very brief reference to the subject is required as preface to the Report now printed.

A similar connection between towns (or rather a confederation of towns) and one other widely separated from them by distance, has had existence nowhere else in the kingdom. In this case the representatives of certain ancient southern seaports appeared annually at an important eastern borough, and temporarily suspended its authority over its own citizens and the commercial strangers resorting to it, or at least, as later, claimed equal place on the seat of justice during a period of six weeks. And yet however monstrous that system may now seem, and however provocative of the strife which it naturally engendered, it had a reasonable origin. The fact is that "The Ports" were at the site of Yarmouth "when as yet there was none of it," and in a measure the town may be said to have been the offspring of the southern confederation. For when the sea swept over the site of the future town the Ports were there governing the concourse of fishers and fish-merchants, both native and foreign, which came hither in the autumn of each year for the great herring catch. And in the course of time, as the sea receded and the sands were laid bare, "tabernacles and booths" were pitched on them for the transactions of the "Free Fair" which became established. Here was the inception of the town of Yarmouth.

To date the beginning of the town's gradual development is manifestly impossible, though Manship, senr., quaintly pictures the even flow of the sea in the days of King Canute, and the emergence of the sands in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Certainly the earliest charter, probably the confirmation of prescriptive right and authority, seems to have been granted to the Cinque Ports by the Confessor, this appearing from the oldest existing charters of John and Edward I.¹ At the time of the Domesday Survey,

¹ The granting of privileges to the Cinque Ports as a confederation by Edward the Confessor is, however, disputed by Round (*Feudal England*, p. 565), who maintains that such a step was first taken by Edward I.

c. 1080, Yarmouth, after perhaps forty years' growth, had seventy burgesses or householders, and they worshipped in a church dedicated to St. Benedict, "on a green hill," supposed to be Fuller's Hill. Marking progress, we find the great Church of St. Nicholas partly built in 1101, and that before 1135, Henry I. had placed the government of the town in the hands of a Provost. Further advance was made in 1209, when King John by charter conferred on Yarmouth the dignity and privileges of a free burgh.

But whatever the advance of the town in importance and self-government, the ancient rights and authority of the Cinque Ports were maintained and exercised on the annual occurrence of the Free Fair, held during the six weeks between Michaelmas and Martinmas. The king, when granting his charter to the town, dared not offend the great confederation of the Ports, on whose ships he depended for the defence of his kingdom, by the abrogation of any of its privileges. To allay the strife which naturally ensued between the two authorities, of Yarmouth and of the Ports, modifications of the compact were made from time to time. In the reign of Henry VIII., the Bailiffs representing the Ports, originally ten, were reduced from four to two, and these were placed on equality with the two Bailiffs of the town. In that condition they are found in the Report now presented, which, however, witnesses to the jealousy and rivalry still continued. The causes of contention are well exemplified, as also the nature of the business transacted by the associated Bailiffs; and if we think their quarrels mean, we find set off against them the good nature and good fellowship which mutual hospitality evoked. Although they could not work together without friction, they could at least amicably eat together at dinner or supper.

The Cinque Ports continued to send their deputies to Yarmouth until 1662, the date of the last embassy. The status of the Ports had declined, the recurring contention at

Yarmouth was unpleasant, and the result unprofitable. Thus in 1663 the Brotherhood resolved "that the Yarmouth service be suspended," and it was not afterwards resumed. The ancient bond was not formally dissolved, but allowed quietly to fall into abeyance.

The controversy about Kirkley Road,¹ which was prominently brought forward on this occasion, was not in itself one of the matters in dispute between Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports. It concerned the relation between Yarmouth and its neighbour Lowestoft. It subsisted for some centuries, and a full account of its various incidents may be read in Swinden's *History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 614, and Gillingwater's *History of Lowestoft*, p. 76. A very brief summary must here suffice.

By the action of the flood tides from the northward, depositing shoals of sand, the mouths of the rivers on the east coast (unless the process is artificially checked) are constantly driven more and more towards the south. In consequence of this action, the mouth of the Yarmouth river in the time of Edward III. found its outlet opposite to Corton, four miles south of Yarmouth. This outlet also becoming blocked, the fishing and merchant vessels were obliged to lade and unlade their goods in the adjoining road called "Kirkley Road," which the king (46 Edw. III.) granted to the burgesses of Yarmouth with the right of taking like duties there as at Yarmouth (*Swinden*, p. 373). This grant was petitioned against not only by the men of Lowestoft, but by the Commons of the Counties of Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and six other eastern and midland counties of England, and it was repealed in 1376. It was, however, re-granted in 2 Richard II., and again, on petition, repealed three years later. Once more in 10 Richard II. the original grant was confirmed, and in 2 Hen. IV. an

¹ For the remainder of this introduction, and for the various notes on local matters, I am indebted to the Hon. Editorial Secretary.

agreement between the men of Yarmouth and Lowestoft practically left the former masters of the situation.

But then ensued a fresh phase of the controversy—where was “Kirkley Road,” and how far did it extend? This was the question in dispute at the time of our Report. Kirkley, as our readers are no doubt aware, is an ancient village on the high ground to the south of what is now Lowestoft Harbour; while the old village of Lowestoft similarly stood on the high ground to the north of the modern harbour. Naturally it might be supposed that “Kirkley Road” would at least extend as far as the place from which apparently it was named. But whatever may have been the case when the name first arose there seems to have been no such connection between the two even in the time of Edward III. So in their endeavour to include both Lowestoft and Kirkley in their jurisdiction, the Yarmouth men fell back upon another plea. Edward III. had granted them the right to take tolls within seven leuks (leugas) of Yarmouth during the Free Fair. They claimed to reckon a leuk as more than a mile, and to commence their measurement from the haven’s mouth at Corton. After some 200 years, Parliament settled in 1597 that a leuk should be counted as a mile, and that the measurement should be taken from the Crane Quay at Yarmouth. Still the dispute lingered on, and was not finally settled till a new measurement was made by order of the House of Lords on 27th May, 1662. Both Lowestoft and Kirkley were, of course, outside the limit as thus defined, but Yarmouth retained the dues in “Kirkley Road” at least till this last measurement was made. In 1594 the whole matter was still undecided. (For a summary of the later course of the controversy, see Palmer’s *Perlustration of Great Yarmouth*, vol. ii. p. 236).

THE REPORT OF THE CINQUE PORT BAILIFFS.

A record of the manner of the entertainment of Mr. John Lunsforde of Hasting, jurat, and Mr. John Mynge, gentleman, one of the jurats of Newe Romeney, Bailiffs for the Barons of the Cinque Ports unto the town of Great Yarmouth for this present year during the time of the Free Fair there, together with all the acts and proceedings had and done by and before the said Bailiffs of the Ports aforesaid only; as also together with Henry Stawnton and William Crowe of Yarmouth aforesaid, merchants and Bailiffs there this year of our Lord 1594.

Vicessimo octavo die Septembris Anno predicto. This day, after we had dined at the town of Laystoft [Lowestoft] we were earnestly requested by the merchants and chief men, inhabitants of the same town, to ride with them some quarter or half a mile out of our way to take view of the coast there, the better to understand where the road called the Kyrkelie Road of right is (and of necessity must be), about which so great controversy hath been between the town of Greate Yarmouth and them of Lowistoft. Whereunto by reason of their courteous entertainment unto us, as especially of the desire we had to know as near as we could where the said road did lie, to pleasure and relieve our fishermen of the Ports, if any question or suit should arise during the time of our being at Yarmouth between the inhabitants of Yarmouth and them, for delivering of herring and discharging of their boats in the road against Lowistofte (supposed to be the said road of Kyrkely), as the last year and other times hath been, we easily yielded our consent. At which time, riding with them of Laystoft, they brought us to a place by the seaside called, as they say, The

Mouth,¹ being full seven miles distant, as they supposed, from the town of Yarmouth, and not much more than a quarter of a mile from the town of Laystoff. Beyond which place, called The Mouth, the men of Yarmouth say this road of Kyrkely lieth; which cannot so be, say Laystoff men, because then the said road should lie out of the seven miles restored unto Yarmouth by the Statute 31 Edw. III., and should be free for any man to buy and sell there, and needed not in the said Statute to be excepted. And many other reasons they used unto us, as from the etymology of the name of the town of Laystoff *alias* Lothuwistoffe, which in French is Kyrkelye, and so the same town is called by the Frenchmen unto this day. Also from the commodiousness and fitness of the road lying over against the town of Laistoff for fishermen to ride in with their boats, and to discharge them of their herrings, as of the land lying between the town of Laystoff and it to dry their nets and to fetch away their herrings, and from the great unfitness and unlikeliness of both road and land lying beyond the said place called The Mouth for that purpose. And such-like reasons used, of all which to make a recital in this place

¹ The name of this locality (The Mouth) raises a point of considerable interest. It lay "about a quarter of a mile from the old town of Lowestoft," from it they rode "to the seaside" and so "under the town and cliffs" towards Yarmouth. This description could only answer to the great bank which then blocked out the sea from Lake Lothing (now the upper part of Lowestoft Harbour), and was cut through under the Norwich and Lowestoft Navigation Act in 1828. The name might, therefore, be held to confirm the tradition that the river Waveney had once found an outlet into the sea at that spot. This theory is maintained by Gillingwater and other writers. But a pamphlet, published by the late Mr. George Edwards, *The River Waveney: did it ever reach the sea via Lowestoft?* Lowestoft, 1879, must be held to prove, both on geological and historical evidence, that no such communication ever existed. The general appearance of the locality may have given rise to the name. The etymological argument of the learned men of Lowestoft is obscure. Suckling, *History of Suffolk*, vol. ii. p. 60, would explain Lothawistoft as "the toft or cluster of houses by the Loth or slow river."

would be over tedious and, as we think, not very needful. Wherefore, leaving them in their demonstrations, we will return to our journey to Yearmouth.

From the place aforesaid, called The Mouth, we rode to the seaside, and so along by the sea, under the town and cliffs two miles or thereabouts, towards Yearmouth, accompanied with the men of Laystoff aforesaid. And as we passed under the town of Laystoff we met with three men, inhabitants of the town of Rye, on horseback, who that day came from Yearmouth of purpose to meet with us, and to accompany us thither. With all which company of horsemen, we passed over Yearmouth bridge about three of the clock in the afternoon, and from thence repaired unto our lodging prepared for us at the house of Mrs. Ladd, widow. Where we remained not above half an hour but a messenger came unto us from Mr. Crow, junior Bailiff elect of Yearmouth for this year, signifying unto us that the said Bailiff, his master, desired our company at dinner with him the next day; by whom we returned our hearty thanks, accepting greatly of his master's courtesy. Presently after whose departure, the like messenger came requesting us to dinner to Bailiff Staunton's on Monday following; to whom we returned like thanks, and promised them our company. Not long after the said messenger had been with us, came one Mr. John Ladd, son-in-law to our hostess Mrs. Ladd, and another gentleman of Yearmouth, by whom we understood that they, together with Mr. Controller of Yearmouth and other gentlemen to the number of nine or ten, rode purposely to Laystoffe to meet with us, and to accompany and welcome us to Yearmouth. Of whose company, by reason we rode under the town of Laistoff and under the cliffs as is aforesaid, we were prevented, and they of ours. Yet we accepting of their kindness requested and had the company of them all this night with us at supper, in part to requite their kindness towards us.

Moreover, in the evening of this day, by reason of certain talk passed between us and some of the men of Yearmouth aforesaid before supper, concerning the place of justice which the Bailiffs of the Ports ought always to have and enjoy equally and indifferently with the Bailiffs of Greate Yearmouth, and for that we understood that the Bailiffs of Yearmouth were wholly directed, and would most willingly consent unto whatsoever one Mr. Hubbarde their learned and high Steward of their court would allow, we sent our clerk unto the said Mr. Hubbarde, signifying unto him that we were desirous to talk and confer with him the next morning, at such hour as he could appoint, upon certain matters before our appearance at the Tollhouse that day, that in them we might be resolved and satisfied, for the avoiding of contention and multitude of words amongst so great a multitude of people as would then be there assembled. From whom we received this answer, that the next morning by eight of the clock he would be ready and at leisure to confer and talk with us of what matter soever we would.

Vicesimo nono die Septembris, Anno predicto. This day in the morning about eight of the clock our clerk repaired unto the house of Mr. Druery, one of the old Bailiffs of Yearmouth, where the said Mr. Hubbard lodged, to talk with him on the points above said. Unto whom we presently were directed, with whom, as with the said Mr. Druery and others of the Bailiffs and Burgesses of the town of Yearmouth then there present, we had speech as followeth. First we signified unto them, that by the relation of our predecessors Bailiffs to this town of Yearmouth the last year, our masters of the Ports at their Brotherhood¹ did understand how very kindly they were entertained and used by the Bailiffs and Burgesses of

¹ The Court at which the report of the bailiffs to Yarmouth for the previous year was read on Tuesday after the close of Easter, and at which the bailiffs to be sent were approved on the Tuesday after St. Margaret, 20th July.

Yarmouth during the time of their residency here, and that there was but this one thing in question between them of Yarmouth and the Ports, where order being taken, there would follow as friendly a meeting in Yarmouth of the Bailiffs as is of our meeting at the Brotherhood. Which controversy, said we, was only about the indifferent giving of the Queen's Arms at our first meeting, which, said we, our masters of the Ports prayed us to have our best diligence to accord with their very hearty thanks for their kind using of our late predecessors, and earnest desire that this one discord might be put in tune, that a good harmony sweet to God and pleasant to the world might be at our first meetings, and so in our whole proceedings. This, said we, is our message which we thought good but in private to deliver [rather] than to use many words in so great an assembly as will be at your Tollhouse this day, for the obtaining of that which we in right and courtesy ought to have at your hands.

Then also we required that the bar in their Tollhouse, standing before the said cloth, might hereafter be lengthened, that we, together with them the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, might be able all to stand and sit within the bar, because we do account that he which standeth or sitteth besides the bar standeth and sitteth as it were without the Court, or at the least seemeth to have less authority than they sitting against the cloth¹ and within the bar. And, lastly, we desired that at the shewing forth of our commissions, and taking of our place with the Bailiffs of this town, we might, together with

¹ Palmer, *Perlustration, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 251, says "Prisoners have always been tried in the great chamber or hall (of the tolhouse), at the upper end of which was a raised bench, on which sat the bailiffs beneath a piece of tapestry bearing the royal arms." He adds in a note, "this piece of tapestry which formed the 'Cloth of Estate,' and hung in the Tolhouse Hall at Yarmouth in the reign of Edward VI., was preserved till 1835, when it was presented to Sir Samuel Meyrick, and now adorns the grand staircase at Goodrich Castle." An account of the Tolhouse, prior to its restoration, was published by F. Danby Palmer (Buckle, Great Yarmouth, 1884).

them, occupy our places without having a fifth person in place not having any authority with us, to sit and displace any of us from the cloth and the bar.

Unto which demands of ours we received from the said Mr. Hubbard, Bailiff Druery, and others, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the same town there assembled together as is aforesaid, these answers, or the very like in effect. To the first and second demand, Mr. Hubbard answered and said they were matters not worth the demanding by us, neither of the gainsaying by them of Yearmouth, wishing us to agree and not to contend for such trifles. "For it is no matter whether the bar be altered or not, wheresoever you sit," quoth he, "your authority is as good as theirs of Yearmouth, and theirs as yours. Your authority is not given you by your places, but by virtue of your commissions. It is not, therefore, the sitting within the cloth, or within the bar, or without both, that any whit prejudiceth your authority. Wherefore these are not worth the speaking of. Concerning your third demand, you demand," quoth he, "you know not what. It hath pleased the Bailiffs and Burgesses of this town to make choice of me for their Steward, and by reason thereof have dealings in their town business, and have my place by their assignment between the Bailiffs of this town, there to sit and direct them and the whole Corporation in such cases as at our being together this day, as at other times need shall require. And moreover I am in this town a Justice of the Peace and Quorum, and by virtue thereof and my commission have authority sufficient to sit with them and you of the Ports concerning causes of keeping the Queen's peace, or else your authority will make void my commission."

"Yea," quoth Bailiff Druery, "he is of no less authority amongst us than he has reported unto you, and for this day is like and shall keep his place as heretofore hath been used. But this I promise you, and so will Mr. Bailiff Staunton and Bailiff Crowe, who are at noon to succeed me, promise

you both, that you shall have as much of the cloth and Queen's Arms as ever had any of your predecessors Bailiffs for the Ports. And as for altering the bar, he left that to the discretion of the Bailiffs aforesaid which should next succeed him. But if he were worthy to advise, the bar should not be altered, least hereafter to the prejudice of the prerogative of this the town of Yarmouth it should be said, this or that the Bailiffs of the Ports have compelled or caused us to do, as though we were to alter whatsoever they disliked.

Then Bailiff Staunton and Bailiff Crowe together promised us that we should have full as much of the cloth and arms as any of our predecessors have had. But for this day they requested us concerning the cloth to be contented as it shall fall out, as others before us have done; tomorrow and from thenceforth we doubt not, quoth they, but the cloth will serve us all four; and as for altering of the bar we should hear more very shortly. And because we seemed still discontented that a fifth person should sit with us to the displacing of any of us, being not commissioned with us, Mr. Druery aforesaid very earnestly affirmed that by his consent we should not be sent for to the Tollhouse this day. "For," said he, "I think not that you have anything to do until your commissions be read and allowed, and if that be done tomorrow morning it is time enough." "Yea," said Mr. Hubbard, "you have said well, for their authority is *a festo Sancti Michaelis*, from the feast, the feast-day being no part of the time wherein they are to exercise authority, and therefore you have said well. It is of courtesy that you call them to their places this day, you need not do it till tomorrow." With many more words to the like effect.

Unto all which answers made to our demands, in sum we replied thus:—"That if our first and second demands were of so little moment as you seem to make account, the easier they might be granted. But whatsoever reckoning you make both of cloth and bar because they neither add to nor

take away any jot of our authority, as Mr. Hubbard hath said, yet they are arguments of inhumanity and great discourtesy in you. That we being authorised by the Prince to have here during the Free Fair, with the Provost¹ of Yarmouth, royal justice, and come so far to our great charges to perform the same, and have in record the stile and prenomination,² and of courtesy and good will to grace you the Bailiffs of Yarmouth have by composition agreed that instead of the Provost you should have place with us in court; and now we have granted you a helve to your

¹ The argument here used by the Cinque Port Bailiffs may perhaps be thus explained. At the time of King John's Charter (1209), Yarmouth was still governed by a Provost or Reeve. In 1269, four Bailiffs were substituted for the Provost, a change confirmed by King Henry shortly before his death (Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 8vo. edition, xi. 300). Yet in the Dite or ordinance of 5 Edw. I. (20th May, 1277), which settled the concurrent jurisdiction during the Free Fair, the peace is to be kept, royal justice administered, plaints determined, &c., before the "Bailiffs of our Barons of the Ports and our Provost of Yarmouth. Swinden (p. 195), in giving this ordinance, at the word 'Provost' sets a marginal note—"In another copy it is *Bailiffs*." Probably the Yarmouth people corrected a copy of their own, while the Cinque Ports retained the original reading. In 1426 the number of four Bailiffs was reduced to two. The argument of the Portsmen seems to be, "We are only bound to leave room for one Provost, but out of kindness we have allowed you to take up two places with your two Bailiffs. Now you take advantage and claim a third for a Steward also, and push us out of place altogether." It does not seem to have occurred to either party to consider how things had been managed in the early times, when frequently ten Bailiffs had come from the Ports, and had sat down with four Bailiffs of Yarmouth (Swinden, pp. 181-2-3).

² The "stile" meant the wording of the title of the joint authority as expressed in the summoning of the courts. The "prenomination" was the right of one or other of the parties to be named first. Article 4 of the Award of 1576 (Swinden, p. 226) ran thus:—"Item, that the prenomination of the title of the saide courte to be (alternis vicibus) one yeare to the Baylyffs of the saide towne of Greate Yarmouth, and another year to the Bailiffs of the Barons of the saide Sinque Ports." This year the right of prenomination fell "in record" (i.e., according to the order assigned by the Commissioners) to the Ports' Bailiffs. They, therefore, all the more objected to being put in a subordinate position.

axehead will you hew and hurl us clean out of place? Our favour deserveth more kindness, which if at this our message from the grave and worshipful assembly of the Barons of the Ports you will grant us, we shall hold you wise in giving us our due. If not I pray you know, howsoever you would disgrace us by the place, our authorities are mediate from our gracious Prince and her noble progenitors, whose deputies here at this present we are to distribute justice in right with the Provost, and, by our former favours towards you, Mr^s Bailiffs of Yarmouth, with you. Take you good heed, therefore, that whilst you think you do but disgrace us you do not wrong to a more excellent person."

And as concerning our third demand we said that "neither Mr. Hubbard, his stewardship, nor his commission-of-the-peace, can or shall give him any authority with us, or to occupy any place of justice among us during the time of the Free Fair, because they who made him Steward cannot themselves but by our leaves and former agreement sit with us, and Her Majesty by the commission-of-the-peace doth not give him any such authority. And whereas Mr. Druery and Mr. Hubbard say that our commissions take no place until the day after the Feast of St. Michael, and that it is of courtesy to allow our commissions and give us our places before, we would know of them when the Free Fair hath his beginning?" Answer was made by Mr. Damett (one of the burgesses of their town) "on Michaelmas Day." Then said we, "that is the first of the forty days of the Free Fair, and in it the authority of the Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports doth begin, and so continual use hath approved and expounded it, and therefore *a festo* must be understood that the Feast Day of St. Michael so soon as it hath his beginning is parcel of the time. And again, we come commissioned for the time of the Free Fair, and not from the time that your Bailiffs of Yarmouth shall see and allow our commission; it is enough for us that we are commissioned and that the time is come

wherein our commissions take force, and we accordingly tender you view of them. Be it at your choice whether you will see them or allow them or not, we will presently put our authority in execution if occasion require, not attending your calling or allowance."

"Again," said we, "if the Jury for the Queen during the time of the Free Fair should enquire of herrings sold contrary to the articles of the proclamation, would you not impose fine upon the offenders and take the benefit of those fines, yea if the offences were done and committed upon this feast-day?" They confessed that they would, for by oath the Jury should present, and by right they might take the fines. "Then doubt we not but the feast-day is a day of the Free Fair, and a day wherein we have authority whether you read our commissions and allow them or not." But to conclude our speech, because it was now time to repair to church, they of Yarmouth first thanked us in that we had made choice thus privately to confer with them, rather than in open multitude to multiply words in a business of such gravity, praying us to hope for the best, and for this day being the first day, to accept of our place as our predecessors have done, and before we departed the town they would consider more of our message.

And because time of divine service was come, with the Bailiffs and Burgesses there present we went to church. Wherein most friendly-wise they took us up with them, and gave us place next to themselves. Divine service and sermon there ended we went to our lodgings, where remaining three quarters of an hour or thereabouts we were sent for by the Bailiffs of Yarmouth to come unto the Tollhouse. Where at our coming the huge press of people would not suffer us in long time to attain the bar for anything the officers of Yarmouth or our own could do. At the last being approached and got within the bar, the seat or bench was from one end to the other so filled with the Bailiffs,

Burgesses, and other company, of purpose that they might have the glory to sit with their caps on while we did stand capless (but that we did not) until our commissions were read and allowed by them, as though our admittance were by them and not by the Ports. At all this we were silent, because we had so promised in hope of redress. They desired the sight of our commissions, which being read by their Town Clerk and viewed by their High Steward (who sat between the two Bailiffs of Yearmouth), were allowed, and we requested to take our places, which we did as heretofore hath been used on the right hand of the Bailiffs of Yearmouth. Having taken our places they called for our officers, whom we presented unto them as foloweth:—

Thomas Gaylour, to bear our Banner.¹

William Warde, jun., to blow the Horn.

William Warde, sen., and } Serjeants at the Rod.²
John Hunt,

The names of our officers being taken and recorded, we demanded view of the prisoners, which without gainsaying was granted unto us, saying that it was requested by the Bailiffs of Yearmouth that in regard the day was far spent we would do it at some other time, but we yielded not thereunto. Whereupon these prisoners following presently were brought before us to the bar:—

Symon Palmer, of Rye, fisherman, for manslaughter.

Paule Yarcylye, and }
John Sympton, of London, } for cutting purses.

Which prisoners were remanded back to prison³ again,

¹ A copy of a banner, preserved at Romney, is given with the Report of the Bailiffs in 1588 in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xii. p. 164.

² By the Dite King Edward authorised the Ports' Bailiffs to have four sergeants, two of whom were to carry rods "to keep our peace." Rods (*virgæ*), or white wands, were used as emblems of authority before maces (Jewitt and Hope, *Corporation Insignia*, Introduction xxiii.).

³ Underneath the Tolhouse.

and appointed John Vernall to hang a lock on the prison door (which presently after the prisoners had returned to prison he did), and to have keeping of the said gaol together with the gaoler during our time of the Free Fair. These things done we went from thence with Bailiff Crowe to dinner, as the day before we were requested, where we were very kindly entertained and had great good cheer.

But by the way as we went Mr. Hubbarde, High Steward as is aforesaid, took Bailiff Lunsforde by the hand and said unto him, that the Bailiffs of the Ports have their yearly receiving to Yarmouth for two causes only and especially. First, to hear and determine of causes and suits moved and determinable during the time of the said Free Fair. Secondly, to sit and inquire of breach of the peace. And for the royal justice they had none, and at such sittings and times of inquiry making, any justice-of-peace might sit with them. And on the sudden he left Mr. Bailiff Lunsforde, and went to Bailiff Mynge, relating unto him what before he had said to Bailiff Lunsforde, and demanded how this might be answered. "Forsooth," said Bailiff Minge, "this day you have both heard and seen that the Bailiffs of the Ports of their own authority, notwithstanding the earnest desire of the Bailiffs of Yarmouth to have it respited, have both called and had view of the prisoners and notice of the causes of their imprisonment, and appointed a gaoler, and locked up the prison. Are you answered," said Bailiff Minge, "Yea or no, that on this Michaelmas Day our authority is in force?" "Yea," quoth Mr. Hubbard, "that hath been yielded unto you of courtesy and not of duty." "Of courtesy!" said we. "We appeal unto your own knowledge and conscience, whether Yarmouth in a matter of so great jurisdiction, commandment, and authority, would yield of courtesy, when they have not the courtesy to yield them equal place that have such and so great authority before theirs?" And, herewith he departed from us without any

one word reply, and unto Bailiff Staunton with whom he dined.

Tricesimo die Septembris, Anno predicto. Magna Jerne-mutha. Curia prima Domine Regine ibidem tenta die Lune scilicet tricesimo die Septembris Anno regni Domine nostre Elizabethe Dei gratia Anglie, Frauncie, et Hibernie Regine, Fidei Defensoris, etc., tricesimo sexto, tempore Libere Ferie ibidem, coram Johanne Lunsforde et Johanne Mynge, generosis, Ballivis Baronum Quinque Portuum hoc anno, et Henrico Staunton et Willelmo Crowe Ballivis dicte Domine Regine Burgi et Libertatis Magne Jernemutha.

Accio nulla.

Nomina Juratorum impanelatorum ad inquirendum pro Domina Regina super articulis Liberam Feriam sive nundinas supradictas tangentibus.

YEAR: RICHARDUS MOODY, Jur.

PORT: JOHANNES GORHAM, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES SMYTHSON, Jur.

PORT: JOHANNES DURRANT, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES EAST, Jur.

PORT: THOMAS HARTE, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES SMITH, Jun., Jur.

PORT: JOHANNES PAYE, Jur.

YEAR: THOMAS GYLES, Jur.

PORT: THOMAS JOHNSON, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES WILLIS, Jur.

PORT: RICHARDUS SWAN, Jur.

Et dies datus est juratoribus predictis ad inferendum veredictum suum usque diem Lune extunc proxime sequentem ad horam octavam ejusdem diei.

At this court it was demanded by us that trial might be made before us of the prisoners aforesaid now remaining in prison, according to right of the privileges of the Cinque Ports. But by the Bailiffs aforesaid of Yearmouth it was denied us because they were prisoners before the time of the Free Fair. And further they said that there was never trial of felons made by the Bailiffs for the Barons of the Ports during the time of the Free Fair; and if a felon should be committed to prison in the time of the Fair, yet should we have no trial of him unless we could prove that our predecessors have had it. "Wherefore," said we, "have we view of the prisoners and keeping of the gaol if we shall

not make trial of them?" They answered, "to busy ourselves." We said that by the last composition between them and us, Article 1^o,¹ we have granted unto us administration of royal justice. "Yea," said they, "as you have used and continued. Prove your continuance and use, and then you shall have trial of the prisoners." This benefit and such like we get by our composition; it had been good for us that we had never known any other composition than the king's Grants and Edict.

Ista curia adjornata est a die isto usque diem Lune extunc proxime sequentem scilicet septimum diem Octobris, et ad horam octavam ejusdem diei.

This day we dined with Bailiff Staunton, where we had good cheer and welcome.

Primo die Octobris, Anno predicto, nihil actum fuit.

Secundo die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we, together with the Bailiffs of Yearmouth, being at the Tollhouse, came before us Thomas Hodgkin who made complaint unto us against Arnold Roome late his master, for the detaining of xxij^s of money from him, desiring to have the law against him and our favourable aid therein. Whereupon in regard of the poor estate of the said Thomas we sent for the said Arnold, and finding him upon examination of the matter that he did owe xxij^s unto the said Thomas as the said Thomas had demanded, we charged him to make payment thereof, and that very shortly, or else to take such order with the said Thomas as might be to his contentment, otherwise he should be admitted to his remedy by law. Then the said Arnold promised to take present order with him for it as should be

¹ In 1576 an Award or Composition had been agreed to, of which the 1st Article ran thus: "Fyrate, that the Bailiffs of the Barons of the Sinque Ports duringe the free fayre at Greate Yermouthe, shall there have the admynstration of the royall justice, and the keepinge of the peace together wythe the Baylyffes of Great Yermouthe as hath bene contynued and used." —*Swinden*, p. 225.

to his liking. And so they both departed from us, and we to our lodging.

This day there dined with us Mr. Androse the preacher, Mr. Smith, customer, Mr. Browne, controller, with others of Yearmouth, and half a dozen of our neighbours of Rye.

Tertio die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we and the Bailiffs of Yearmouth met together in the forenoon in the Tollhouse, for the weighing of bread. When before us came the bakers of Yearmouth with their bread, which was weighed according to the assize before to them given, viz., **xxx**^s the quarter of wheat.

Of which assize William Durrant did

want in his ob. [$\frac{1}{4}$ d.] white loaf	-	iijoz.	
In his penny white loaf	-	-	vos.
John Bishop in his ob. loaf lacked	-	iijoz.	
In his ij ^d . wheaten loaf	-	-	xioz. iiij ^d .
In his j ^d . white	-	-	ijoz.
Roberte Robins in his ob. white loaf	-	iijoz.	
In his penny white loaf	-	-	iiijoz. vj ^d .
Roger Watson in his ob. white loaf	-	-	xij ^d .
In his j ^d . wheaten loaf	-	-	vijoz. vj ^d .
In his ij ^d . household loaf	-	-	xxij ^d .
Roger Cotman in his ob. white loaf			
did lack	-	-	iiijoz. iiij ^d .
In his j ^d . white loaf	-	-	xvij ^d .
In his ij ^d . household loaf	-	-	xix ^d .
Richard Mallis in his ob. white did			
lack	-	-	iiijoz.
In his penny white	-	-	iiijoz. vj ^d .
George Crayne in his 1 ^d . white loaf	-	iiijoz.	vj ^d .
In his halfpenny white loaf	-	-	iiijoz.

For which wants the bakers aforesaid at this time were not fined, because the price of wheat was risen two or three shillings in a seam [8 bushells] also in hope of amendment in them upon a new assize to be given.

It was thought good and meet by all of us that a new assize should be set for the bakers, and therefore have appointed them to bake after the rate of xxxijs. the quarter of wheat, until another assize shall be given them.

This day we had brought before us the apprentice of William Blome of Norwich who was run away from his master; for which fault he was adjudged to be whipped; but upon his submission and promise of amendment, he was pardoned. Also order was taken for the sending of him to his master by the next boat that went to Norwich.

Quarto et quinto die Octobris, Anno predicto. In these two days nothing was done worthy of remembrance.

Sexto die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day in the morning we were requested by one of the serjeants of Yarmouth to eat a leg of a swan with his master, Bailiff Crowe, tomorrow at dinner. By whom we returned our hearty thanks to his master for his courtesies, with promise then to be with him.

This day being Sunday we went to church *more solito*, and after divine service ended we caused the proclamation¹ for the Free Fair to be made by our officers (who were ready at the church door on horseback, with such implements as thereto belonged) at all the accustomed places, being accompanied upon the green before the church-door with the Bailiffs of Yarmouth and the most part of the Burgesses in their scarlet gowns, and with a great multitude of other people standing by, who with silence gave ear unto it.

Septimo die Octobris, Anno predicto. Magna Jernemoutha. Curia secunda Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

Ad hanc curiam Juratores predicti pro Domina Regina venerunt et presentaverunt ut sequitur.

¹ The proclamation of the Free Fair was to be made by the Bailiffs and Officers of the Cinque Ports, the Yarmouth Bailiffs being present if they wished. *Swinden*, p. 226. The Yarmouth people sometimes, as in 1600, tried to drown the proclamation outside the church by vigorously ringing the bells while it was being read.

We present James Bearde of this town of Yearmouth for making a fray upon John Egges, victualer, in the house of Robert Wakeman, the sixth day of this instant month.

Et presentaverunt cetera omnia bene.

Juratores predicti habent diem ulterius ad veredictum suum reddendum usque diem Lune extunc proxime sequentem ad horam octavam ejusdem diei. Quousque curia ista adjornatur.

At this court came six or seven of the chiefest inhabitants of the town of Laystoffe, and unto us made request that from henceforth the fishermen of all places to this town of Yearmouth resorting, may freely make sale and delivery of their herrings in the Road of Kirkelye,¹ when they shall think good so to do, without our trouble or molestation. Because the said Road is excepted and returned free for that purpose both by the grant made by King Richard the Second unto the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of this town of Yearmouth, and by statutes of this Realm, as also by a concord or award made between Yearmouth and Laystoffe by the letters patent of King Henry the Fourth in the second year of his reign, to be free from all men to sell their herrings, and for the men of Laistoffe or any other to buy them there. And because this their request seemed unto us to make for the good commodity of our fishermen, we requested of the Bailiffs of Yearmouth and Mr. Damett, one of the Burgesses then there present, to know how the allegations of these men might be answered. Whereunto they said that that Road called Kirkelye Roade lyeth as they think without the seven miles reserved unto this town of Yearmouth, but to show directly where, no man knoweth. Against which the men of Laystoffe showed them and us two inquisitions concerning the place where the said Road should be, whereof one was taken in Suffolke and the other in Norfolke, 5^o Ricardi 2^l, and both of them proving that the said Road lyeth in the main-sea over against the town

¹ See above, p. 73.

of Laystoffe, and consequently within vij miles of Yearmouth. They of Yearmouth, for answer to these inquisitions, said that Laistoffe men had stolen them forth, Yearmouth men not privy of them, and that the jurors were gentlemen of Suffolk that did it of partiality and favour to themselves, because they would be provided of herrings and of other merchandise at Laistoffe which was nearer to them than Yearmouth. But Laistoffe men replied, that after they had obtained the first inquisition by a Suffolk jury, they of Yearmouth proved the latter to be taken in Norfolk by Norfolk gentlemen, as by the inquisition it appeareth. And further said that the inquisition taken in Norfolk is large as good for them as that taken in Suffolk. They of Yearmouth inferred the partiality and unlawfulness of the said inquisition because it sayeth that Kirkely Roade lyeth in the main-sea over against the town of Laistoffe in the county of Suffolk, as though the main-sea were parcel of any county, and therefore said they found they cared not what. Whereunto Laistoffe men answered, that by those words Laistoffe might be rather meant to lie in Suffolk than Kyrkely Roade lying in the main-sea. But admit it were so, they said they can prove by ancient men yet alive that there was a huge bank of sand which did lie between the main sea and the place which is called Kirkely Roade, so that ships might be safe in that road in all winds. The men of Yearmouth would not credit that; and for answer to the concord or award aforesaid, 2^o Henrici 4th, Mr. Damett aforesaid produced a very fair book of parchment, wherein were written (and that by himself, as was reported, who was in time past town clerk there) decrees and sundry patents of princes concerning the privileges and jurisdictions of the town of Yearmouth, amongst which was one patent made 3^o Henrici 4th which went somewhat hard against the men of Laystoffe and restrained them very much. Yea it made mention of very many Laistoffe men by name that were bound in an hundred

marks apiece to observe and keep the tenor of that patent. To this because they of Laystoffe had never heard of it before they knew not readily what answer to make, only prayed for the better satisfying of them it might be showed under seal. And further said that if there were any such bonds made yet they could not stand in force against them. Whereupon it was then promised unto us that we should see the same patent under seal, and would also set us down other reasons drawn from sundry Statutes of the Realm for further answering of the allegations of the men of Laistoffe. And so we ceased to talk any more of this matter at this time.

At this court we the Bailiffs of the Ports demanded of the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, that whereas one John Hutchinson was committed to prison upon suspicion of felony, trial might be made of him according to law and the privilege of the Cinq Ports before us, because both the fact and imprisonment hath happened in the time of the Free Fair. Whereunto answer was made by them, that if we would rear a Sessions, and make trial of him by our own authority, we might, but they would not sit with us, or be assisting therein. "For," said they, "ye have no right to determine of felons, but only to inquire of them and to take their examinations, and do matters of such like weight; neither have any of your predecessors at anytime used otherwise to do. Look what you have used to do, we will not deny to give you our assistance thereunto, and further we will do nothing." Then we answered, that "we have by plain words administration of Royal Justice confessed, acknowledged, and allowed unto us by the last composition between the Cinq Ports and Yarmouth." "True," said Bailiff Crowe, "so far as you have used." "To prove our usage," said we, "would be hard for us upon the sudden to do, our older Records being in our Brotherhood House. But it appeareth most evidently, both by the Edict and by the last

composition aforesaid, that the Bailiffs of the Ports ought to have administration of Royal Justice, and that by your own consents must have and continue as we have accustomed. By the Edict it is granted unto us in general words without any manner of limitation. If it had been the pleasure of the king that we should have administered justice but in part, we should have been limited and prescribed how far our authority should have extended therein. It may necessarily therefore be intended, that forso much princes in times past have given the Barons of the Ports such and so large prerogatives, without limitation and by express words for felons, that they have heretofore both had occasion to use and used this prerogative in the trying of felons, being a special point of Royal Justice. All which they of Yearmouth answered as before; and further said they thought that the said prisoner was not committed for felony, neither was any man bound to prosecute any such matter against him. And therewithal requested us that because the day was far spent, and they had some causes to dispatch of their Borough Court, they might further talk hereof at some other time. So we departed to our lodging, where we had not remained long but were sent for to dinner to Bailiff Crowe's, whither the day before we were requested.

Octavo die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we and the Bailiffs of Yearmouth, with four or five of the Burgesses of the same town, and Mr. Graye their Town Clerk with others, in the morning went to the haven's¹ mouth, some by water and some by land, to see the same. And at our return from thence we had the same Bailiffs, Burgesses, and the rest of the company, and all their wives, to dinner; whom we entertained to their very good liking.

¹ The 7th Haven, still in use, by which the outlet of the river Yare was finally fixed at Gorleston. At this time it had been many years in construction at immense cost, and was scarcely yet finished. (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, vol. xi. p. 270, &c.).

Nono die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we and the Bailiffs of Yarmouth met together at the Tollhouse, where before us was brought Arnold Roome (of whom mention is made before in this Record) and a maidservant, in whose company he was taken, and who the day before were committed unto prison for that fact, and now adjudged by us to be whipped. Yet because they seemed to us very penitent for their said offence, and because the said Arnold promised that he would come no more in her company until he married with her,¹ as also that the said Arnold was near of alliance to very honest, wise, and worshipful inhabitants of Yarmouth, who beforehand had entreated favour in his behalf, and further that upon his examination it appeared unto us all that before God they were man and wife, and contracted together long before this fact was committed, and that before this time they had been married together had he not been prevented and hindered by his own kinsfolk, who thought the same maid a very unfit and unmeet match for him, we remitted their punishment, and discharged and released them out of prison.

Then also were brought before us Thomas Wauler of Brixthempsted, fisherman, and a trull with whom he was taken the night before by the search and committed to prison. Who for their said offence were now adjudged the next day at full sea to be ducked in the channel, viz., every of them three times, and then one of them to be set on the bridge, and the other set at the north gate. And that if they should be taken one in the other's company any more they both should be whipped about the town and parted asunder as aforesaid.

<i>Decimo</i>	} <i>die Octobris, Anno predicto.</i> Nothing was
<i>Undecimo</i>	
<i>Duodecimo</i>	

done worthy remembrance.

¹ On the 20th Nov., 1594, Arnold de Roome was married to Kathryn Palmer at St. Nicholas' Church, Yarmouth.

Decimo tertio die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day being Sunday, in the morning we went to church, and after divine service and sermon ended, we made our second proclamation for the Free Fair after our accustomed manner, with our officers on horseback, as hath been used and accustomed.

Decimo quarto die Octobris, Anno predicto, Magna Jernemoutha, Curia tertia Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

[Form adjourning the jury, as before].

At this court because Thomas Wauler aforesaid of Brighthemsted and the trull or queane with whom he was taken, were not punished (for some consideration) as before they were adjudged, they both were well whipped at the bar, and so discharged and set at liberty.

Decimo quinto et decimo Sexto die Octobris, Anno predicto. In these two days nothing was done worth recording.

Decimo septimo die Octobris. Magna Jernemoutha. Curia quarta Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

[Form adjourning the jury, as before].

At this court John Hutchinson, servant to Robert Balsum of Norwich, being committed to prison upon suspicion of felony, was released for that there did not come any man to challenge him with the fact, nor he upon his examination did confess anything that could charge him.

And also Thomas Cock, committed for his misbehaviour, was upon his submission and entreaty discharged and set at liberty.

John Stringer, of whom mention is made before in this record for an abuse by him committed, was whipped at the bar and adjudged to be sent by constable to constable to his master, according to the Statute in that case late made and provided.

The Jury at this court would have presented certain of our

fishermen of the Ports for refusing to pay their fier,¹ viz., ij^d of every boat. Which because we deemed to be prejudicial to all the fishermen of the Ports, and contrary to their usage as they informed us, and against the privileges of the Ports, we would not permit it to be done.

Launcelot Mathewe, for filching, was whipped and set at liberty.

Decimo octavo die Octobris. Nihil actum fuit.

Decimo nono die Octobris, Anno predicto. Magna Jerne-moutha. Curia quinta Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

[Form as before adjourning the jury until a new summons].

Vicesimo die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day being Sunday, after morning prayer ended, we caused our proclamation for the Free Fair at the places accustomed to be proclaimed by our officers on horseback, as has been used and accustomed.

Vicesimo primo die Octobris Anno predicto. This day, in the morning, at our coming away,² we received of the Chamberlain of Yearmouth, ij^l x^s due unto us by the last composition between Yearmouth and the Ports.

This day also came out of Yearmouth with us Mr. Bailiff Staunton, Bailiffe Crowe, Mr. Andrewes their preacher, Mr. Thrower, Mr. Damett, Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Pronnett, Burgesses, Mr. Graye their Town Clerk, Mr. Eger, Mr. John Ladd, and others, to the number of xvij or xvij^{teen} horse of them, who brought us on our way homeward to the town of Laystoffe, where the Bailiffs aforesaid bestowed a very good

¹ A toll of 2d. on every boat for the maintenance of lights or beacon fires "for security of the arrival of ships by night." Authorised under the name of "fire-pence" by King Edward's edict.

² By the Dite the Ports' Bailiffs, in lieu of a customary toll of 4d. on every ship, were to receive from the men of Yarmouth a fixed sum of £8. Article viii of the Award of 1576 had reduced that amount to £3. 10s. (*Swinden*, p. 227).

dinner on us and our company. Which being ended, they with their company took their leave of us in very friendly and courteous sort.¹

The names of every town in the roadway between Gravesende and Greate Jernemouth, with the distance of miles between every of them, are as followeth :—

		Miles			
From	Gravesend to Horneton-on-the-Hill	-	4	3	28
	Horneton-on-the-Hill to Billarickye	-	6		
	Billarickye [Billericay] to Stock	-	4		
	Stock to Chenesford [Chelmsford]	-	4		
	Chenesford to Witham	-	-	7	
	Witham unto Easterforde	-	-	3	
	Easterforde to Colchester	-	-	8	2 32
	Colchester to Cattawaye-Bridge	-	-	6	
	Cattawaye to Ipswich	-	-	6	
	Ipswich to Woodbridg	-	-	5	
	Woodbridge to Snapebridg	-	-	7	
	Snapebridge to Eastbridg	-	-	4	2 24
	Eastbridge to Bliborough [Blythburgh]			4	
	Bliborough to Laystoffe [Lowestoft]	-	10		
	Laystoffe to Jernemouth [Yarmouth]	-	6		

[FINIS.]

¹ The duration of the Free Fair was 40 days. But for a long time previous to this visit the Ports had directed their Bailiffs to limit their visit to Yarmouth to 21 days. It seems strange that they should have travelled all the way by road.

On some Ancient Stone Fragments found in Cringleford Church.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. T. S. COGSWELL.

DURING the progress of some extensive alterations, which were made in Cringleford church in the year 1898, several indications of the early history of the building were revealed.

Through the demolition of the south wall and the unflaking of the north wall, it became evident that the original church¹ consisted of chancel, nave, and north and south aisles. The nave was short, and corresponded to the size of the present chancel. The aisles were narrow, and separated from the nave by two arches, and above these (both on the north and south sides) was one window doubly splayed, and retaining portions of wooden framework (evidently Saxon).

The present unflaked north wall shows all these special features, and the same were revealed during the removal of the south wall.²

¹ The church, before restoration (1898), consisted of nave and chancel only.

² The arcading of the present aisle occupies the place of the south wall. Stone jambs of a doorway were found at the western end of the south wall, on the ground line, 3 ft. 9 ins. apart. The present porch is on the north side.

It is practically certain that in the fifteenth century the aisles were pulled down and the materials used to lengthen the nave and to build a tower. At the same time the rood staircase was erected, for its seven remaining steps found in the *south* wall [Plate I. *a*] consisted of a collection of fragments of an ancient church—mullions of windows, pieces of stone of all sizes, bricks of various dates, and pieces of carved stone-work.

The chief historical interest of this staircase is centered upon the first step, which upon removal, proved to be a fragment of a pre-Norman sculptured stone.

The rood builders seem to have reduced this fragment to the size they required, placed the engraved side uppermost, and moulded the broken edge which projected into the church. Later, at the destruction of the rood, half of the moulded edge was hacked off, and the whole of the lower staircase so bricked up and plastered over that it remained concealed and protected till this year (1898).

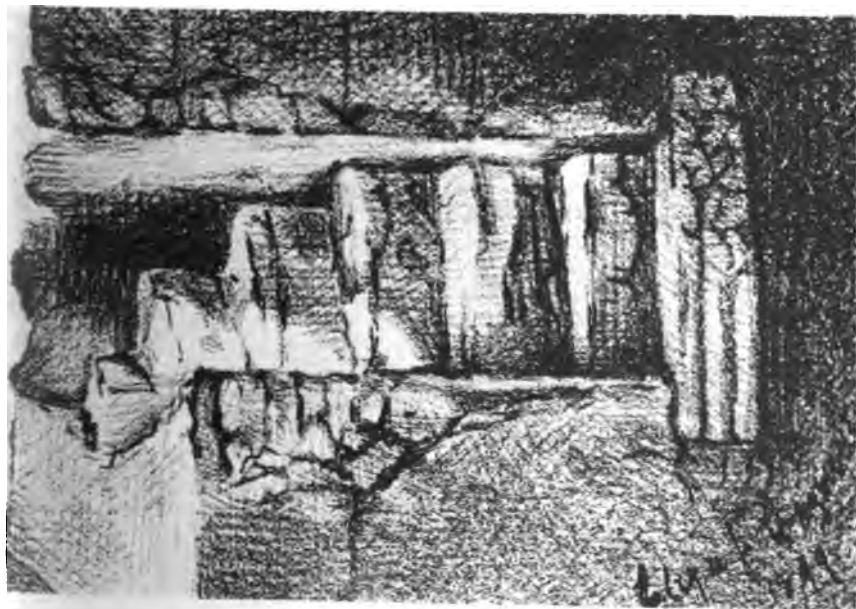
Of the early relic of which this was a fragment, six portions have been found—two pieces in the rood steps, the remainder in that part of the south wall which was built in the fifteenth century.

The stones are hard sandstone. They are ornamented with the design of a cross, below the transverse arms of which are panels of plaiting-work, treated emblematically, *i.e.*, showing neither beginning nor end.

The largest piece is 37 ins. long, $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide at the top, 8 ins. wide at the bottom, and $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. thick.

The other five stones vary from 14 ins. to 7 ins. in width, and from 11 ins. to 7 ins. in length, and some of these are over 6 ins. in thickness.

It should be noted that the top edge of the largest stone is slightly moulded, and the moulding is continued for about 5 inches at the back, which leads to the supposition that both sides were originally visible.



a.

IN CRINGLEFORD CHURCH.
PLATE I.



b.

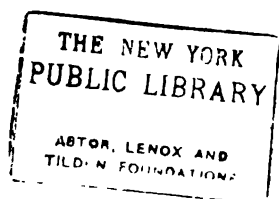


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IN CRINGLEFORD CHURCH.
PLATE II.

The chief piece of stone has now been placed with two others in the west wall (south side) after a design kindly furnished by G. E. Fox, Esq., F.S.A. [Plate II., *a, b, c*]. The reconstruction upon this design gives an upright cross, 4 ft. 10 ins. long, 2 ft. wide at the top, 18 ins. wide at the bottom.

Of the three remaining pieces [Plate I., *b, c*]*—*one shows a portion of the shaft of a cross with plaiting work on either side; the other two appear to belong to the base. These are preserved in the west wall (north side).

As to the original use or date of these stones, we can but form a conjecture. The only distinguishing feature of the ornamentation (the interwoven bands of plaiting-work on the panels) is not sufficiently definite a characteristic to form the groundwork of a decided judgment. Panels ornamented in this style are very common in Celtic work. In a *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, by J. Romilly Allen, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the frontispiece shows two panels thus filled with plait-work ornament, forming part of the shaft of a cross at Llantwit Major in Wales. Other examples of similar Celtic ornamentation may be seen in the same work. In the illustrated edition of *Green's History of the English People*, by Mrs. Green, vol. i., p. 74, is another well-marked example of plait-work in panels. The panels in this case form portions of the border of an illustration of David as a warrior, from an illuminated MS. at Durham, traditionally ascribed to Bede.

Scandinavian Art also abounds in these serpentine interlacing bands. They are, however, characterized by less regularity, being generally mixed up with quaint devices. The author of the South Kensington Manual on Scandinavian Industrial Arts, Hans Hildebrand, considers them to have been originally prolongations of parts

of the bodies of conventional animals, which in passing through the hands of several generations of Scandinavian artists have entirely lost their shape and meaning.

The balance of evidence, so far, would seem to incline in favour of assigning a Celtic or British origin to our fragments. But it must be remembered that a simple ornamentation of this kind might be borrowed from various sources. Considering the predominance of the Danish element in East Anglia for more than two hundred years before the Norman Conquest, a Celtic Christian work of art seems hardly likely to have found a place there.

History does not help us with any further light. At the time of the Confessor—as recorded in the *Domesday Survey*—the whole town belonged to Alured the priest. Do these stones mark his gift to the church, or are they portions of his tomb?

“Cringleford Cross” is mentioned by Blomefield under the date of 1291. Are these stones portions of that cross? There are no traces remaining of the base of a churchyard cross.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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Nave of Norwich Cathedral, looking East.

W. B.

Recent Discoveries in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.

COMMUNICATED BY

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., AND W. T. BENSLEY, LL.D., F.S.A.¹

It is well known to our Society that the Dean of Norwich, with his characteristic energy, has for some time past been collecting subscriptions and carrying on the important work (begun by the late Dean Goulburn) of repairing and beautifying this Cathedral Church. In this good work Dean Lefroy has been materially assisted by Mr. [now Sir] Samuel Hoare, M.P. for this city, and his wife, who, on the 7th April last year, being the thirty-second anniversary of their wedding day, generously proposed to make an Easter offering to the Church, that offering to be the unflaking and cleaning of the nave at their own cost. The work was commenced in the latter part of September, 1898, and is now completed, at a cost of £600 or thereabouts. A staff of skilled masons and workmen has been employed, under the superintendence of Mr. Charles John Brown, architect, Mr. Leonard Wragg being the master mason; and great care has been taken to avoid injury to the tooling of the stonework. You now see the nave restored to its pristine beauty, having

¹ This Paper was read by Dr. Bensley, on the visit of the Society to the Cathedral Church on the 5th May, 1899.

been divested of the numerous coats of whitewash which have been applied to the stonework from time to time since its building in the twelfth century.¹ The Norman builders were themselves the first to whitewash the stonework.

In the course of the unflaking many interesting archæological features have been brought to light and carefully preserved. In describing them I have the permission of Mr. St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, to make use of two papers prepared by him and read at meetings of that society in the early part of this year, the same being the result of our joint researches in the matter. Foremost amongst these interesting features that have hitherto been covered up are the traces of the fires which devastated the church, first in 1171, and again at the hands of the citizens in 1272. The church was also burnt a third time by lightning in 1463, but how far this extended to the nave is uncertain. In the aisles, which from the first were vaulted, the walls show no signs of fire, but in the nave, which was not vaulted until after the middle of the fifteenth century, the traces are evident as well as interesting. The burning of such combustible fittings as were in the nave in the twelfth, or even in the thirteenth century, would alone do comparatively little hurt. But the falling in of a blazing roof and ceiling would cause extensive damage. Not only would the floor be covered with glowing and blazing matter, but some of this would naturally roll between and more or less encircle the bases of the piers. These have in consequence been scorched and shivered, while the upper parts are little injured. The under sides of the capitals, and here and there the edges of the arch mouldings are, however, considerably reddened in places, evidently

¹ See note, p. 110.

through being licked by the uprushing flames. The marks of the fires also tell another story. According to the history of the foundation of the church, contained in its *Registrum Primum*, and written about the year 1306, Bishop Herbert the founder (1091-1119), "*perfectit ecclesiam Norwyci suo tempore usque ad altare sancte Crucis, quod modo vocatur altare sancti Willelmi.*" Of his successor, Eborard (1121-46), it is stated, "*Opus ecclesiæ Norwyci ubi Herbertus Episcopus predecessor suus dimiserat incepit et, ut ab antiquis dictum est, memoratam ecclesiam integraliter consummavit.*" The extent westwards of Herbert's work is approximately marked, so far as the ground story is concerned, by the fifth pillars, which are of a different plan from any others visible when the unflaking commenced. These pillars also stand about a bay beyond the extreme limit of the monks' part of the church, which alone was completed by Herbert, and included not only the eastern arm and transepts, but four to five bays of the nave as well. The monks' quire probably occupied then, as now, the two first bays as well as the space under the crossing. The nave is, in all, fourteen bays long, but actually consists of seven double severies, the piers of which are alternately principal and subordinate. The principal piers throughout are square in plan, with re-entering angles and nook shafts, and have attached to the front a double group of shafts running up from the floor to carry the ceiling. On the aisle side there are double shafts to carry the transverse arches of the vault. The subordinate piers, with the exception of the fifth piers, which are massive cylinders ornamented with spiral fluting, are a compromise between the square principal piers and the circular ones, with a single ceiling shaft in front and a double shaft on the aisle side. Why one pair of piers should be cylindrical

and the rest so different has long been a puzzle, but all is now made clear. In removing the whitewash from the third north pier there came to light on the east face a large patch of plaster. This was in turn removed, to reveal the interesting fact that within what now turns out to be casing are the remains of another cylindrical column, badly scorched from fire, but exhibiting a bold spiral grooving similar to that on the fifth piers. There is, however, this difference, that whereas in the fifth piers the joints are cut obliquely to range with the grooves, in the third pier on the north side the stones are squared in the usual fashion; the fluting also seems to have been an afterthought, whereas in the fifth piers it was designed from the beginning, as shown by the jointing. The casing of the pier has converted it into the same plan as Bishop Eborard's subordinate piers; but closer examination shows that the old capital, of similar design to that of the fifth pier, remains unaltered. The corresponding south pier is also cased in the same way, but no attempt has been made to ascertain the condition of the older pier within. Since the fifth and third pairs of piers can now be shown to have been cylindrical, the first pair ought to yield evidence of similar construction. These piers, however, are entirely of Eborard's pattern, and if they ever were cylindrical they have been entirely re-built or transformed to make them uniform with the rest, perhaps because they were more injured in the fire. The next pair of piers has also been largely recased. The traces of the fires have thus been entirely obliterated. The greater destruction wrought in these bays may have been caused by the additional fuel furnished by the stalls which stood between them and by the wooden floor and fittings of the *pulpitum* or loft at the west end of the quire. The subsequent repairs have been executed to a large extent



North Aisle of Norwich Cathedral, looking West.

W. T. B.

To face p. 108.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

in the same Barnack stone of which the piers are composed, and are probably the work of Bishop William (1146-1173) after the fire of 1171. This prelate was so anxious to make good the damage that he is reported to have sometimes sat in a chair at the church door to beg money for the work, and within two years he had repaired it as it was before.

The damage done when the citizens burnt the church and monastery in 1272 must have been largely due to the falling in of the blazing roofs and ceilings, and for reasons already stated such damage was confined to the central parts of the church that had before been injured. It is, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the ravages of the two fires. The repairs were sufficiently advanced by 1278 to enable the church to be dedicated by Bishop Middleton on the day of his enthronement in the presence of the King and Queen and many of the nobility. Besides the high altar, there were also hallowed the altar of the Saviour and All Saints "where St. William lies buried," an altar at the quire door in honour of the Blessed Virgin, St. John Baptist, St. Giles, and the Holy Virgins, and the altar at the door of the sacrist's chamber in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul and All Saints. All these were more or less connected with the central parts of the building.

In 1362 the church was again seriously injured, this time by the fall of the spire during a great gale. Not only was it necessary in consequence to rebuild the whole of the upper part of the presbytery, but the work was so prolonged that in 1453 repairs "*post magnum ventum*" were still in progress, and as late as 1460 work was going on in other parts of the church. We are consequently left in great uncertainty as to the extent of the damage done by the third fire in 1463, and this is increased by the fact that the westernmost stalls in the

quire, which can be shown from the heraldry and the carving to be at least as old as the reign of Henry IV., are apparently still in their original positions. It is, nevertheless, clear from the account rolls that extensive repairs necessitated by the fire were executed both in the eastern and western parts of the church. The principal work done about this period was the replacement of the wooden ceiling of the nave by the magnificent lierne vault of stone, which is still one of the glories of the church. To carry it the Norman ceiling shafts were made to serve as vaulting shafts, and furnished with new stone bases of the then prevailing fashion. The contrast between the white stone of which these bases are made and the reddened masonry in which they are inserted, as revealed by the recent unflaking of the stonework, is very marked, and we can hardly suppose that the fifteenth century builders suffered them to remain uncovered by a judicious coat of whitewash.¹ The arms and rebus of Bishop Walter Lyhert (1446-1472), which are placed alternately at the junctions of the new vault with the old shafts, show that the work belongs to his time. It has generally been supposed that this vault formed part of the repairs necessitated by the fire of

¹ "Since the above was written, I have come across the following entries in the sacrist's account rolls :

1472. Solut. Johanni Everard seniori pro reparacione et *dealbacione* ale ex parte boriali navis ecclesie in grosso xxjs. viij*d*. In calce ad idem opus vs. vd. Item solut. Johanni Abbot et Nicholao socio suo pro reparacione et *dealbacione* de le northele versus palacium in grosso xxs. In calce et sabulo ad idem opus iiij*s*. ij*d*. In *dealbacione* presbiterij cum alis xiiij*s*. v*d*.

Other entries in earlier years also relate to extensive limewashing :

1441. Johanni Everard pro *dealbacione* in ecclesia iiij*li*. In calce combusta pro eadem xs. x*d*.

1442. Johanni Everard latamo pro *dealbacione* medietatis ecclesie lxx*vi*s. viij*d*.

W. H. St. J. H."

1463, but this is not borne out by the account rolls, which exist for 1465, 1466, 1469, 1470, and 1472, when Lyhert died, and it must have taken longer to build than the intervals for which rolls are missing. It is, therefore, possible that it was built before the fire, in continuation of the repairs due to the fall of the spire in 1362, but this again is not borne out by such account rolls as have been preserved. Not improbably the whole of the cost was borne by the Bishop himself, and so the expenditure would not necessarily appear on the rolls at all. In that case the vault may be later than the fire, and have been built as a fireproof ceiling in place of the oft-burnt wooden one. Besides the nave vault, Bishop Lyhert also rebuilt the *pulpitum* at the west end of the quire, and Professor Willis has ascribed to him the paring down of such of the Norman bases of the piers as had been injured in the fire, in order to make them more sightly, but the result cannot be called successful.

The next point of interest which the removal of the limewash has brought to light is the existence, mostly in the eastern part of the south aisle, of an extensive series of pinholes and cuts in the walls and pillars. The reason for these is for the most part a mere matter of speculation, but in some cases the holes seem to have held fastenings for the cords of lights suspended from the centre of the groining, where the rings still remain in places. From the cuts in the walls it is clear that the aisle was crossed by a number of screens. There was one, for instance, on the line of the third pier, a second on the line of the fourth pier, and another on the line of the fifth pier. The two first seem to have enclosed a chapel of some importance, if we may judge by the remains of elaborate paintings on the vault. Of these paintings only a few fragments are left, but these

are enough to show that they were of great merit and interest. The compartments of the groining were covered with a series of pictures of the story of some saint. For the most part these have all perished, but there remain in one angle two complete figures of bare-headed men in long garments, one of whom has his hands uplifted to a figure of a king sitting on a throne, which occupies the next compartment. The transverse arch of the aisle, west of this vault, has also been painted with a series of large roundels, probably seven in number. Of these three remain tolerably perfect on the northern half. The lowest contains simply the figure of a hall or church with clerestory and central spire. In the next roundel is a mitred figure in blue under robe and red cope, seated and clasping his hands, and with a tall crosier between his right arm and his body. On his right are two persons, and on the left side of his head are the remains of an inscription. Mr. Hope made out the letters INTIMA PA but was doubtful about the first and two last. The third roundel contains two men seated at each end of a red table. He on the right of the picture is a clerk in a surplice or albe. The other is untunsured, and wears an emerald green robe. Both figures have in their hands and upon the table a number of oval white objects like eggs, but from the way in which they are being handled they must be meant for something else. It is difficult at present to offer any interpretation of these paintings, since they form so small a portion of the entire series. From the leafwork between the roundels they seem to belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century. Of other paintings very few traces have come to light. It was hoped that remains of Norman decoration would have been disclosed throughout the nave, but none is visible save some Norman scrollwork above the door of the cloister.

The present cleaning has also brought to light a considerable amount of colouring and gilding on the groining and upper parts of the monument of Bishop Richard Nykke or Nyx (1501-1535-6), principally on the shields of arms that decorate it. This monument stands beneath the seventh arch on the south side, and both this and the eighth arch have been cased and groined with elaborate panelling. The corresponding bays of the aisle have also received richly panelled vaults.

In the north aisle there are no such traces of transverse screens as on the other side; and as the south aisle was blocked by chapels the north aisle was probably kept open for processions, and to allow pilgrims to visit the shrine of St. William and other objects of veneration in the eastern parts of the church.

About the year 1740 the greater part of the church was repaved, and whatever slabs remained to indicate the sepulchres of bishops and other eminent persons known to have been buried in it were ruthlessly destroyed or converted to other purposes, or removed to other parts of the church.

From the foundation of the church down to 1550, twenty-four bishops are recorded to have been buried in it, or have left directions to that effect. Of these nine lie in the presbytery, five in the destroyed Lady Chapel at the east end, two in the quire, four in the nave, and of four the burial places are not recorded. A memorial for the founder, Bishop Herbert, but of later date, exists in the middle of the presbytery, and hard by are the tombs of Bishops John Wakering (1416-1425) and James Goldwell (1472-1498-9); there are also the remains of Richard Nikke's monument on the south side of the nave. But for the other twenty bishops there are not any memorials, and the burying-places of most of them

can only be fixed approximately by the statements of historians or the directions in wills.

The nave having been closed during the unflaking of the walls, and excavations near the screen being needed to provide foundations for iron columns to support the new organ, the opportunity occurred of ascertaining, if possible, whether the bones of St. William had been buried near the altar dedicated in his honour, or if any traces could be found of the graves of Bishops Thomas Brown (1436-1445) and Walter Lyhert (1446-1472), both of whom desired to be buried in this part of the church. As will be seen presently the search for these graves is closely connected with the solution of certain questions as to the ancient topography of the eastern part of the nave.

The investigation was begun on 16th January, 1899, and continued on the following day in the presence of the Dean and Canon Hervey as representing the Chapter: the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, F.S.A., Honorary Canon; Dr. Bensly, F.S.A., Chapter Clerk; Mr. C. J. Brown, the Cathedral Surveyor; Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke (Hon. Secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society), and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who was invited by the Dean to assist in the investigation. The proceedings were confined to the bay immediately in front of the screen separating the nave from the quire, erected by Bishop Lyhert after the fire of 1463. The main features of this screen are a central doorway flanked by the reredoses of two altars, surmounted by a groined coving and parapet set up about 1833. The lower part of the screen towards the nave was unfortunately "restored" at the same time by being made new, and the only work of Bishop Lyhert now remaining is the doorway and the pillar piscina of the northern altar. The altar has for a long time been assumed to be that of St. William, the little boy murdered

by the Jews in 1143-4. Excavations were accordingly begun in front of its site, in the hope that the coffin that contained St. William's bones might have been deposited there on the general destruction of shrines *temp.* Henry VIII. The removal of the loose rubbish underlying the floor slabs showed, however, that no interment of the ordinary kind of any date had been made there, and the available space was restricted on one side by the great sleeper wall on which the arcade stands, and on the other by the grated channels for the warming apparatus which traverse the nave from end to end. Whether anything and what was found or destroyed when these channels were constructed some years ago cannot now be ascertained. A piece of wood was found in an inclined position, which may have formed part of a coffer in which the relics of the saint were deposited. The sleeper wall is composed of hard flint rubble, and projects $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in front of the piers. The trench was carried down 2 ft. to a bed of flint rubble which underlies this part of the church, and then filled in again.

The next excavation was made in front of the screen doorway, in the space 13 ft. wide between the hot water pipe channels. Here were disclosed (1) the rounded head of a brick grave or vault underlying the entry of the doorway, and (2) the edges of another brick grave about 2 ft. 6 ins. to the west of the first, and 9 ins. below the floor level. This second grave had lost its covering, and as it was apparently filled up with loose rubbish, this was carefully taken out. At a depth of 11 ins. from the top there appeared a narrow ledge along the sides and ends of the grave to support a series of slabs, but these had been taken away. The further removal of the rubbish was, therefore, proceeded with, and revealed an undisturbed skeleton lying on the

bottom of the grave, which was 2 ft. 4½ ins. below the ledge. The body had evidently been buried without a coffin, and so far as could be seen (for the bones were interfered with as little as possible) there were no remains of grave clothes or any other covering, nor of a crosier, chalice, or paten. From the dry rubbish immediately overlying the body one relic was recovered, a handsome gilt bronze signet ring. The device engraved on it is a duck or some such bird plucking the sprig of a plant.

Mr. Read, of the British Museum, who has been kind enough to clean the ring, considers that the date of it cannot well be earlier than 1520. The dimensions of the grave in which it was found are as follow: length,



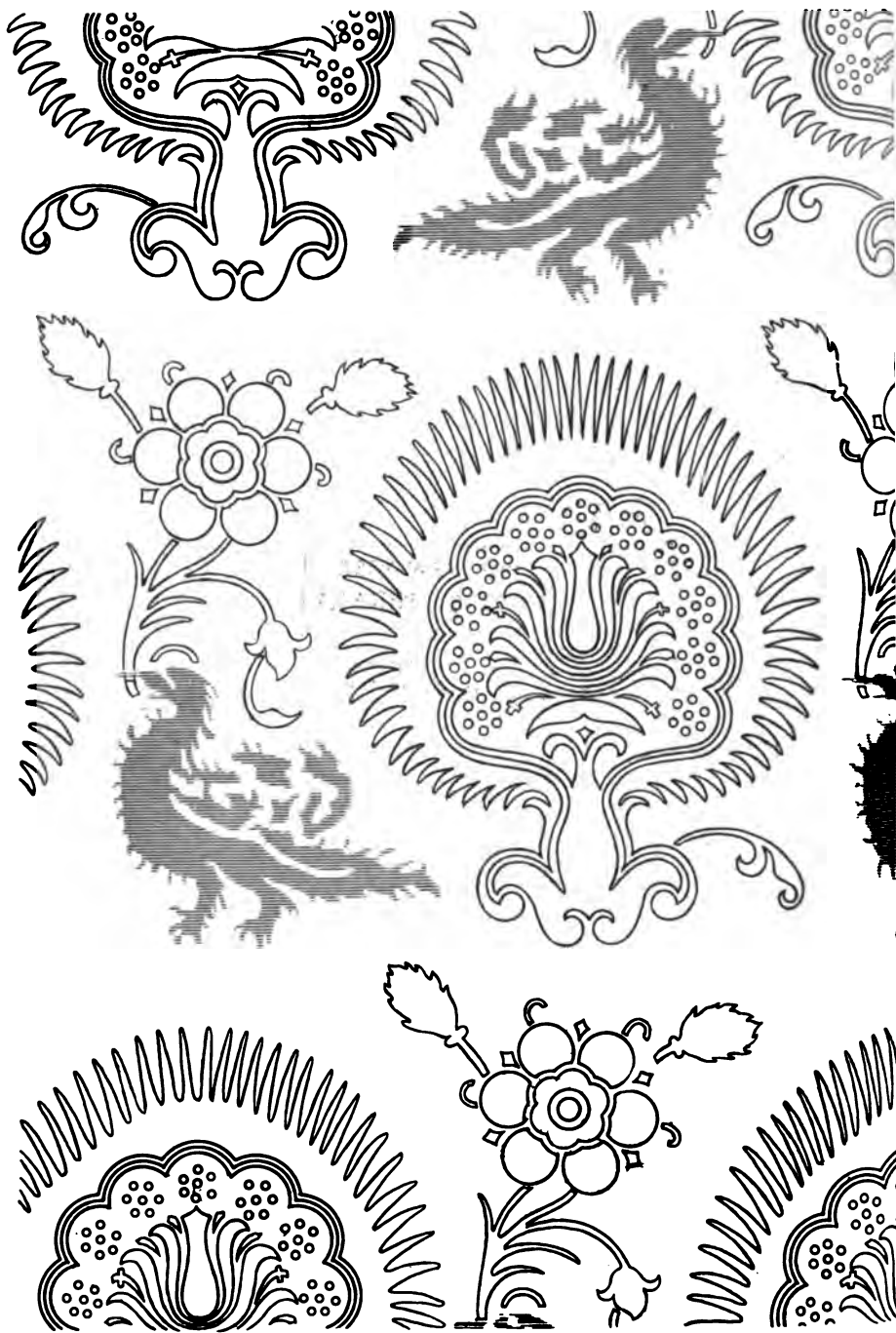
COPPER-GILT RING FOUND IN A GRAVE IN THE NAVE.

7 ft. 6 ins.; width at head, 3 ft. 5 ins.; width at foot, 2 ft. 10¾ ins.; length below ledge, 6 ft. 10 ins.; width below ledge, at head, 2 ft. 6 ins., at foot, 2 ft.; depth to ledge, 11 ins.; depth from ledge to bottom, 2 ft. 4½ ins. The width of the ledge varied from 6 ins. at the foot to 2 ins. at the head, and at the sides from 6½ ins. on the north to 4½ ins. on the south. The brickwork round the upper part, with its plaster lining, was 5 ins. thick.

It was next decided to examine the vault under the doorway, which the insertion of a spline through a chink in the brickwork had already shown to be at least three feet deep. Enough of the bricks were accordingly removed at the west end to render visible the interior. It was then seen to contain a wooden coffin, which had long ago split asunder, revealing the body of a bishop with his crosier laid upon him. The coffin was 6 ft. 5 in.

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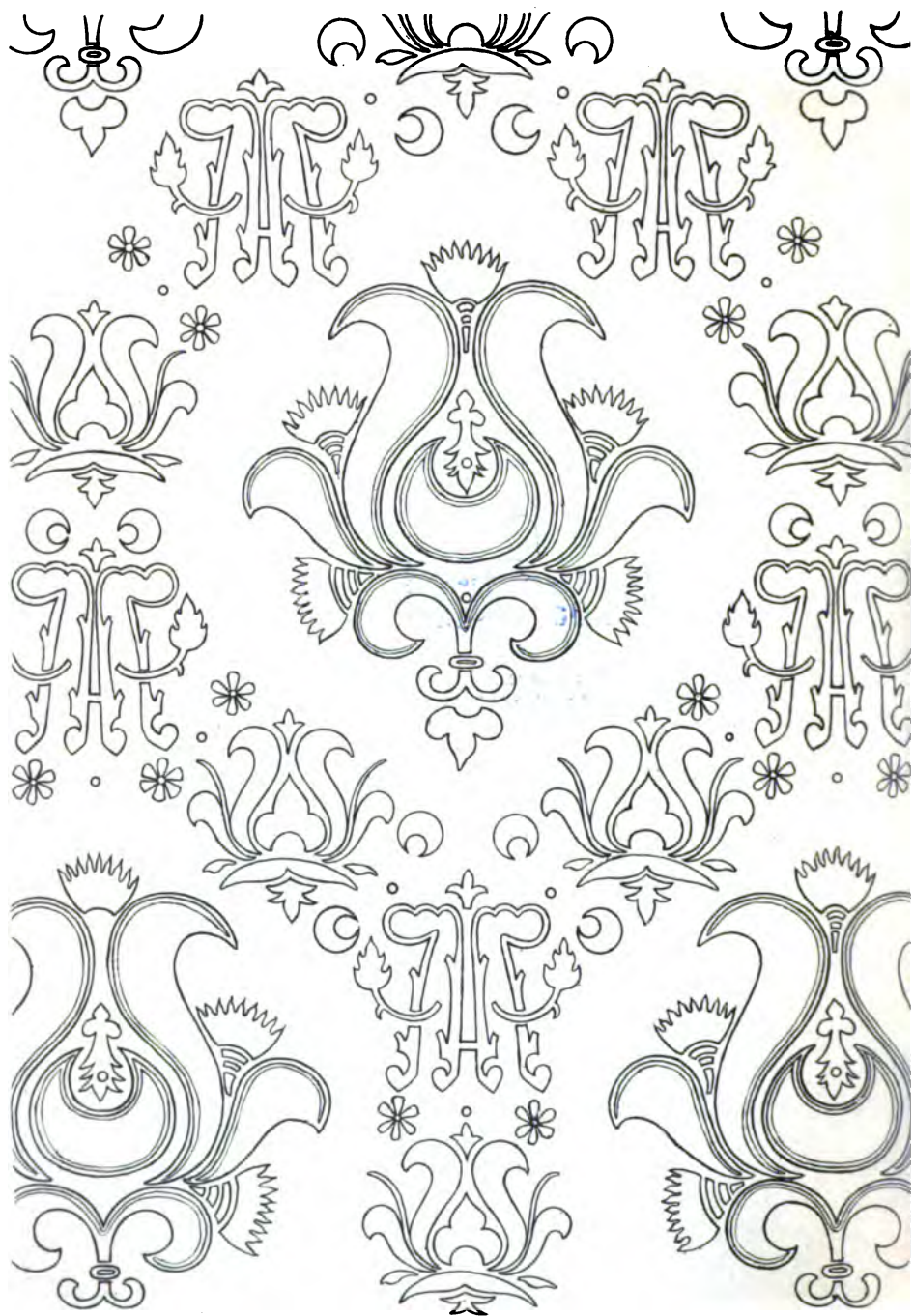
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Pattern on Bishop Lyhert's Mass Vestments.

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Pattern on Bishop Lyhert's Mass Vestments.

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Carved head of Crosier in Bishop Lyhart's vault.

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Norwich.

To face p. 117.

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Carved head of Crosier in Bishop Lyhart's vault.

A. E. Coe,
Norwich

To face p. 117.

long, and tapered from 2 ft. in width at the head to 18 in. at the foot. It lay upon several pieces of decayed rope, probably the remains of the bands by which, since it had not any handles, the coffin had been lifted into the vault. The bishop's skull had on it the remains of a linen mitre, and the body was clothed in Mass vestments. The hands were crossed in front of the body, and apparently covered with linen or fine silk gloves. No ring could be found, nor any chalice or paten, but the remains were disturbed as little as possible. Over the feet were deposited a loose bundle or mass of fine twigs, some of which have been examined, and pronounced to be heather. The crosier, which is of light wood, was taken out for examination. The carved head had fallen off, and in part decayed away, but was originally about 10 ins. high, and had a crocketed crook enclosing a leaf and springing from a moulded capital fixed to the shaft by a peg. The shaft is 5 ft. 4½ in. long, and consists of two lengths, each 1 in. in diameter, with a central band or knot, and a pointed socket at the bottom for the iron spike, which is lost. The upper half was spirally wrapped round with a black cobwebby substance, which turned out on closer examination to be the remains of the linen sudary or napkin originally attached to the base of the crook. The head of the crosier, which is of oak, has been preserved as a relic, but by the Dean's wish the staff was replaced in the tomb.

It is interesting to note the close resemblance between this crosier and that found in 1852 in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, with the mummy of Bishop Lyndewode, now in the British Museum. Their lengths are identical, and, as will be seen from the drawings of Lyndewode's staff in *Archæologia* (vol. xxxiv. pl. 31), the designs are so similar that both staves must have come

from the same workshop. Lyndewode, who was Bishop of St. David's, died early in 1447.

The vault containing the coffin is 8 ft. 3 in. long, 3 ft. wide, and 3 ft. 6 in. high to the crown of its arched brick covering. The interior is plastered save at the east end, which is of bare brickwork. The coffin must, therefore, have been introduced into the vault through that end, which was afterwards walled up. A subsequent excavation on the eastern side of the screen beneath the organ loft disclosed what appears to be a continuation of the vault eastwards, into which the coffin could first be lowered, and then pushed or carried into the vault. This had, however, been partly destroyed and encroached upon by later burials, so we could not follow up the junction of the two.

The history of the screen erected by Lyhert is intimately connected with the identity of the bishop buried beneath its doorway. The screen is actually a double one, with a whole bay between, and the organ loft above: it thus formed the *pulpitum*. The eastern wall has been destroyed and replaced by modern work. The western wall structurally is Lyhert's, and is panelled on its inner face; the outer or western side has been already described. That the screen is Lyhert's work is proved, not only by his arms and well-known rebus, which are carved in the spandrels of the doorway, but by the evident reference to it in his will, which bears the date 13th May, 1472, ten days before his death. The will contains the following interesting clause: "*Sepulturam meam eligo in navi ecclesie mee Cathedralis prope et ante ostium meum novi operis mei vocati a Reredosse prout ibidem pro sepultura mea ordinatum est.*"¹ As we have already seen, Lyhert's "new work" forms "a Reredosse" to two altars, and a further clause in his will desires that "ad

¹ P.O.C. 7 Wattys.

altare ex parte boreali sepulture mee" he may have a perpetual chaplain to say mass for the souls of himself and his parents, of John Lyhert his kinsman, and Richard Hedge, formerly his servant, and for the souls of all his predecessors, especially of Dan Thomas Browne, his immediate predecessor. Now it is clear from Lyhert's own statement that in building his "Reredosse" he had provided beneath it, *prope et ante ostium*, a place for his burial, and there cannot be any doubt that the vault we have discovered partly underlying the doorway is the place in question, and that the coffin therein contains his remains. Although no memorial was left to mark the spot, we know that such did exist, for Mackerell, writing in 1737, before the nave was repaved, says that Lyhert "lies under a very large stone directly under the rood loft, on which was a brass plate with the following lines," etc. Blomefield, whose history of Norfolk was first issued in 1739, says "his stone, which was a very large one, was removed this year, and laid at the eastern door of the south ile: it was robbed long ago of the effigies and inscriptions, part of which is preserved in Weever." The slab, until a few weeks ago, lay as described by Blomefield, just within the cloister door. It measures 10 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, by 4 ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in breadth, and although much worn, bears traces of the casement of the bishop's brass, which represented him under an elaborate canopy with side canopies and marginal inscription. By direction of the Dean and Chapter, the slab is now replaced over the bishop's grave.

There is at present no clue to the identity of the person buried in the grave west of Lyhert, but from its position he must have been someone of note. The ring found therein is not necessarily an episcopal one, and in any case its late date precludes the grave being that of Bishop Brown, who died in 1445. The position

of Bishop Brown's burying place, if it could be discovered, being of some importance in establishing certain points in the history of this eastern part of the nave, further investigations were made in the bay west of that already examined. The floor slabs were accordingly taken up on Shrove Tuesday last, and an excavation made in the central line of the bay. The removal of a very slight layer of rubbish brought to light the remains of a wooden coffin, and the margin of a brick grave in which it had been deposited. This had lost its original covering, and been filled up with rubbish. The coffin, though dry, was much decayed, and apparently of elm. It measured 5 ft. 10 ins. in length, and tapered from a width of 20 in. at the head, to 14 in. at the foot. Only the central portion of the lid remained intact, and on lifting this it was seen that the body had been covered with a thin layer of hay. The bones were partially examined by Mr. Charles Williams, F.R.C.S., Norwich, who has pronounced them to be those of a man between 55 and 60 years of age. The body had been buried in a single garment of some woven material, with the arms extended by the sides. Neither ring nor anything else was found to give a possible clue to the identity of the deceased, but as the grave had been previously disturbed and filled up with rubbish, any object of value might then have been removed. The grave is constructed of brickwork, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick and plastered within, but has no inner ledge for covering slabs. It is 6 ft. 6 ins. long, and varies in width from $27\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at the head to 26 ins. at the foot. The bottom was only 23 ins. below the present floor. As the soil to the north of the grave seemed loose, and moreover full of fragments of worked stone, the excavation was extended in that direction. Here another brick grave was found, but its contents had been displaced, and the bottom broken out for a later

interment below; the head of it was also encroached upon by another burial, which was not interfered with. From the rubbish overlying and filling this grave were extracted numerous pieces of Purbeck marble paving-slabs, some fragments of screen work, two pieces of a small image, originally about 18 ins. high, and a corbel or bracket for an image with the name *Mcs John de B[ry]dlynton* painted along the front. This last discovery is of more than usual interest, since Mr. Hope has been fortunate in finding in the sacrist's roll for 1414 the following entries relating to the image which the bracket no doubt supported :

“ In lapidibus emptis pro duobis imaginibus 4/6
Pro factura imaginum Gaciani et Johannis de
Bredelynton 26/8 et pro pictura 8/10.”

Although a broken image was found too, Mr. Hope thinks that the absence of all traces of colour thereon precludes our claiming it as that of the good John of Bridlington. The marble fragments were pieces of squares varying in size from 12 inches and upwards, and had evidently formed part of the old pavement of the nave. Some of this has fortunately been suffered to remain between the piers of the arcades. An entry in the sacrist's roll for 1400 of 100/- paid “pro pavimento in ecclesia pro CCCC pedibus de marbre” may give us the date when part of this floor was laid down. From the graves thus described trenches were continued eastwards across the line between the fourth pair of pillars, in the hope of finding evidence of the screen that must have stood there. The digging soon brought it to light, in the form of a flint foundation 9 inches thick, going down about 2 feet, and extending apparently right across the church. The east face of it is 16 ft. 9½ in. from Lyhert's screen.

The earliest document subsequent to the fire of 1272 which throws any light upon the arrangement of the nave, apart from what still exists, seems to be the will of Bishop Thomas Brown, who held the See from 1436 to his death on 6th December, 1445. By this will, which is dated 28th October in the latter year, the Bishop directs that he be buried "in superiori parte navis ecclesie Cathedralis Norwicensis sponse mee prope medium altaris sancti Willelmi." He also directs that there be placed upon his grave "unus lapis marmoreus in circumferenciis de cupro insculptus cum armis domini Herberti fundatoris dicte ecclesie et armis meis conjunctis et scribantur in eodem lapide dies mensis et annus obitus mei. Et quod arma et litere insculpte deaurentur." He further directs, "Item volo quod in singulis columnis navis ipsius ecclesie tam ex parte dextera quam sinistra fiant consimilia arma de latoun ibidem perpetuo remansura."¹ The bishop's will also contains further references to his burying-place, etc. One of these clauses directs that the usual services be said on the anniversary of his death "in medio navis ecclesie predicte circa tumultum meum ex utraque parte," and that mass be devoutly sung by the prior, "ad altare sancti Willelmi in superiori parte navis ecclesie predicte." For undertaking to do this his executors were to pay the prior and convent £40, "ad decorem navis ipsius ecclesie et in operibus faciendis imprimantur semper arma mea in mei memoriam." Another clause ordains a perpetual chantry of one monk "in navi ecclesie mee Norwicensis juxta tumultum sancti Willelmi et ante sepulturam meam." Finally the bishop leaves 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) "ad faciendum altare ante sepulturam meam et unum Reredoos," again on the condition "quod memoriale armorum meorum cum armis ecclesie in diversis locis

¹ Reg. Stafford, f. 131b.

illius operis depingantur." By the irony of fate not a single example of the arms of this bishop seems to have been preserved in the church.

The altar near which Bishop Brown desired to be buried was originally the nave altar of the Holy Cross, but by the end of the thirteenth century it had become known as that of St. William. From analogy with other examples, it probably stood against a screen or wall crossing the church between the fourth pair of piers, pierced by doorways towards either end for the Sunday and other processions to pass through after making a station before the rood. The foundation of this screen we have lately found. The piers just mentioned differ from the other principal pairs west of them in having the twin ceiling shafts on the nave side cut away up to a height of $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the floor, and terminated in carved corbels. The sharp edges of the flat surfaces thus formed are chamfered off to the same height. The corbels on the north side are apparently of the earlier half of the fourteenth century, and represent the busts of two men in hoods, with their hands raised on either side to uphold the shaft. Their arms have tight sleeves, with rows of five buttons on the under side. The wall surfaces, chamfers, and busts are all reddened with fire, and must, therefore, be anterior to 1463. The busts on the south side are similar, but of different date and style from those opposite, and have traces of painting on them. They show no signs of scorching, although the adjoining wall surfaces and chamfers are reddened, and would therefore appear to be part of the repairs after the fire of 1463. To what date the foundation of the screen belonged it is difficult to say, and we are equally uncertain as to the nature of the screen itself. The absence of any holes in the piers suggests that it was of stone. On the other hand

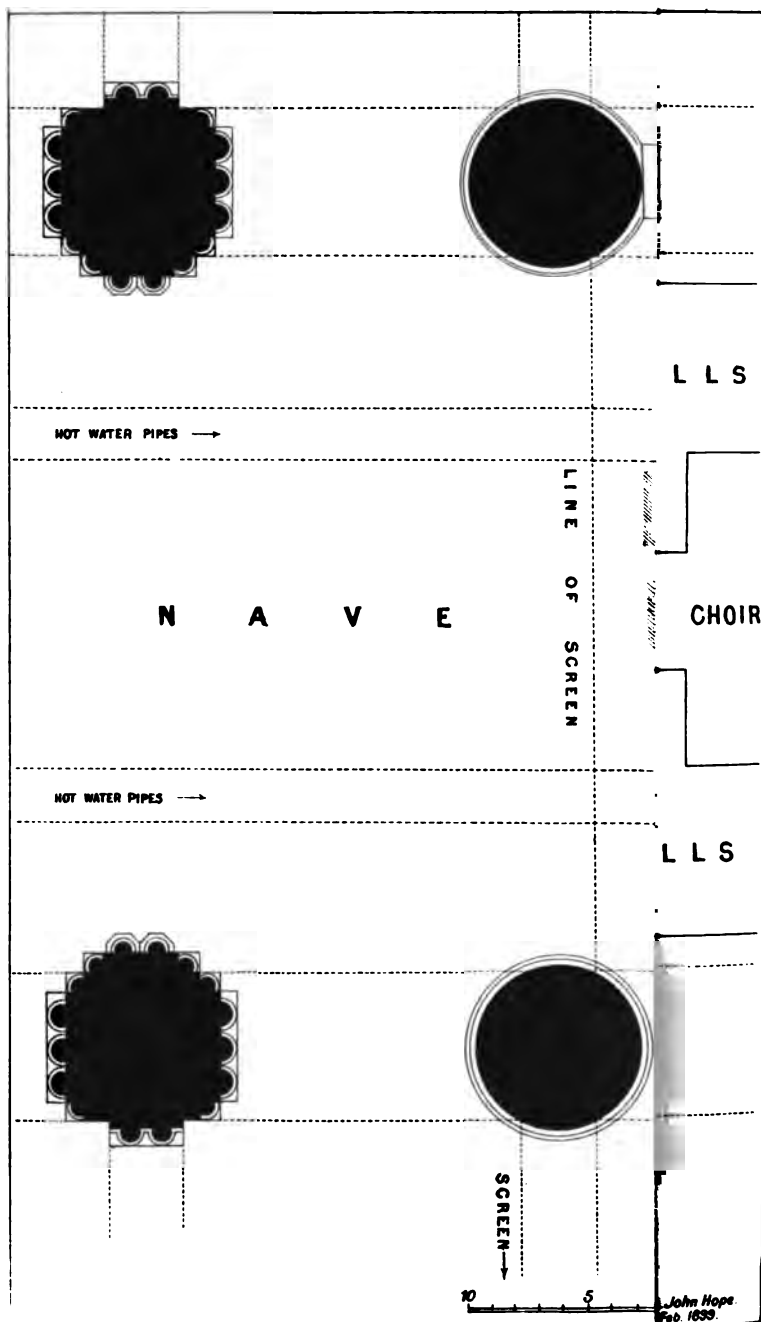
a foundation wall only 9 ins. wide seems too weak for a screen of some height, and the reddening of the stonework so far upwards, as well as across the whole width of the piers, points to the burning of a wooden screen when the blazing roof and ceiling fell in in 1463. In the sacrist's roll for 1442 there is a payment of 13s. 4d. to Simon Tabbard the carpenter, "pro deposicione trium lignorum supra altare sancti Willelmi."

The altar against the screen would, of course, stand upon a platform. As the grave in the centre of the bay is 7 ft. 3 ins. from the screen foundation, the steps probably projected about that distance westwards. In the sacrist's roll for 1440 is a payment of 8s. "pro emendacione graduum versus altare sancti Willelmi cum aliis diversis operibus factis circa pavimentum in ecclesia," which is followed by another of 3s. 4d. "pro posicione lapidis marmorei pro sepultura fratris Ricardi Midelton nuper Sacriste." It is possible that the grave in the centre is Richard Middleton's, and that Bishop Brown, when he died five years later, was buried in the grave next to it, and so *prope medium altaris*.

The bay in which the nave altar stood was enclosed by screens on the other three sides also. On the west there are holes in opposite faces of the great twisted columns for a transverse screen 11 feet high, and in the capital of the north pillar a deep cut exists for some work above, and slightly in advance of it. This screen has no foundation under the floor, but seems to have been of wood. The roll for 1394 accounts for 16d. collected "de trunco extra clausuram ante altare sancti Willelmi." The side arches were apparently closed by stone screens, if we may judge by the sharp limits of the fire stains. That on the north was in existence in the last century, and is engraved in Sir Thomas Browne's *Repertorium*, published in 1712. It owed its

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PLAN SH

To face p. 125.

preservation to its incorporation with the tomb of Sir James Hobart, one of Bishop Lyhert's executors, whose will, dated 27th July, 1516, contains the following interesting provision: "My body to be buried in the Cathedrall church called Crysts Church within the Citie of Norwyche in the north side of the bodie of the saied church as shall accorde with my degree with oute worldly pomp or pride betwixte ij pillars where a closing of friese stone of old tyme was begonne. The which closing I wyll have made pfighte and finished after the seyde werk there apperynge in 'maner and fourme of a chapell in the which I will have an awlter made for a priest to singe masse."¹ Sir James's tomb remains, and the carved achievement of his arms that formerly surmounted the screen, but the screen itself has gone. It is therefore, impossible to say how much and what part of it "of old tyme was begonne," or "made pfighte and finished" by Hobart's executors. There are indications of a like screen having crossed the opposite arch, but no representation or note of it has come down to us. Both transverse screens, as well as that built in the next bay by Lyhert, had screens in line with them crossing the south aisle.

The arrangement of the nave screens resolves itself into this: First we have Lyhert's *pulpitum*, with the quire door in the centre and an altar and reredos on either hand, each no doubt, within its own screen or *clausura*; then the rood-screen with its central altar and procession doors, flanked by side screens and inclosed westwards by the third screen.

This was the regular disposition in every large monastic church, and when these screens have disappeared, as in our ruined abbeys, the arrangement in question can

¹ P.C.C. 33, Ayliffe.

generally be made out from the holes for fixing the screens which remain in the pillars.

One other discovery must be mentioned. When making the excavation under the organ loft on Shrove Tuesday the trench was extended partly through the quire door on the chance that the grave might there be found of Bishop Thomas Percy, who died in 1369 and desired to be buried *ante chorum ecclesie*. No interment was found, but about 3 ft. down there seemed to be a layer of hard flint rubble. A similar layer, as stated above, had been found previously in our first trench before the north altar against the *pulpitum*; it was, therefore, decided to trace its limits. It was again found before the side of the south altar at a depth of about 2 ft., and was traced for some 10 ft. to a line 13 ft. 6 ins. westwards from Lyhert's screen, where it abruptly ends. Its thickness was not ascertained. This rubble bed would, therefore, seem to extend right across the nave, and for at least nearly two bays eastwards. Since its western limit coincides with the declared extent of Bishop Herbert's building, it is possible that for greater security, owing to the church being founded on a marsh, he underlaid his work with a foundation of flint rubble or concrete, which his successor did not think it necessary to continue.

A further excavation was made on March 3rd, on the south side of the central grave found on Shrove Tuesday, but no vault or brick grave was found. The excavation was extended westwards, and resulted in the discovery that the ordinary soil extended to the line of the screen between the twisted columns, and that immediately west of that line there was a mass of loose stones and mortar to some unascertained depth and width. We turned up several pieces of Purbeck pavement and fragments of a thick ledger stone, to which a brass had been fixed.

Within the western doorway of the south aisle of the nave two deep cuttings in the stone have been uncovered. In these cuttings are several small holes plugged with wood for the purpose of fixing something to the walls. Cuttings in the stonework indicate that formerly a screen or barrier existed across this aisle in a line with the first pier from the west end.

In conclusion, Dr. Bensly said : " Standing as I now do upon the steps of this beautiful pulpit, the gift of Dean Goulburn, I feel that I ought not to omit to add that he from time to time set apart a portion of his income for improving and beautifying the Cathedral, and that the balance of the fund, of which I am the surviving trustee, is about to be expended in recording in gilded letters on slabs of stone to be erected in the arcading near the west end of the nave, the names and dates of the Bishops of East Anglia, Dunwich, Elmham, Thetford, and Norwich, and those of the Priors and Deans of this Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Norwich. We Englishmen look with veneration upon our cathedrals. Like the stately homes of England, how beautiful they stand, the pride and glory of our native land ! Our grand Norman Cathedral may be said to reflect not only the strength, genius, and wisdom of its founder, but in the massiveness of its piers, arches and walls, it appears to symbolise the breadth, strength, and stability of the Church of England."

A Note Book of Sir Miles Branthwayt in 1605

COMMUNICATED BY

WALTER RYE.

THE MS. from which the following notes are taken is in the possession of Sir Hugh Beever, Bart., a descendant of Sir Miles Branthwayt, who has kindly allowed me to take the following extracts from it.

The chief interest is in the curious recipes which he seems to have collected at different times.

The following is a copy of the first page:—

A note of all such detts as wer owing to M(iles) B(ranthwayt) the 29 of November, 1605.

- Brant. My brother Henry Branthwayt by bond besides the longe forberance fower hundred poundes 250 li cccc^{li} to 650^{li}
- Thetford. Francis - Uppon all his assurances seven hundred and fourty pounds 740^{li}
- Cornwalis. Sr Charles and Sr William uppon all assuerances as appeareth by my other booke according to the accompt of 26 Januarii, 1604, seven hundred seventie one pounds ten shillings 771^{li} 10^s
- Southwell. My father Southwell by bill besides uses 60^{li}

Wright. Of desperate dett fyve hunded and forty
pounds 540^u

Webb. Mr. Webb upon all his assuerances for
himself and Sr John Carrell, my brother and
Mr. Woodhouse eight thousand and eight
hundred pounds 8800^u

Sequitur building.

This item struck out.

Among other debtors are Roger Hobart, £60; Sir Wm. Leighe, £120; Roger Ramsy, £1200; Mr. Rookewood, £60; Mr. Thomas Cryspe, £50; "my brother Hart, £15"; Sir Tho. Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, £105; Hy. Townshend, £508; Lady Maria Hevenyngham, £55; Richard Benslye, £10; "Gurny, 4 Aug., 1607," 20s.

The first batch of entries extends to 1611.

The following details of births, &c., enable us to correct the printed Visitations:—

My marriage was about 7 December, 1594, at Bartham in ye County of Suffolk, to Mary, one of the daughters of John Southwell, Esquire.

Milo Branthwayt
nat fuit duo
decimo die
Augusti, 1560,
anno Rne Eliza-
bethe secundo.

Margaret Branthwayt, eldest daughter of the above-named Myles and Mary his wyfe, was borne uppon Wensday the thyrtent of October, 1596, anno Rne Elizabeth the tricesimo octavo betwixt eight and nyne in the forenone of the same day, and was baptized at Hemly in Suffolk, and had for godfather my brother, Henry Branthwayt, and for godmothers his wyfe, my mother Southwell, and my sister Bedyngfeld.

Elizabeth, the second daughter, was born at Hemly aforesayd the 15th of December, 1599, being Friday,

about eight of the clock, and died within three days after.

Elizabeth, the third chyld of the sayd Myles, was born at Breckles the 22nd of September, being Tuesday, betwixt ten and eleven in the nighte, anno dni. 1602 (1601 ?) ao. Regine Elizab. 43, and had for godfather Mr. William Gardiner, and for godmothers, my mother Southwell and Mrs Webb of Yxworthe.

Mary Branthwayt, the fourth daughter, was borne at Breckles uppon Tuesday, the 12th day of October, 1602, ao. Elizab. 44, and had for godfather Mr. Antho. Thwaytes by deputie, and for godmother my Mother Southwell only.

Arthur Branthwayt, the first borne living sone of the said Myles was borne at Heatheld the 5th day of October, 1604, being Friday, betwixt one and two in the afternone of the sayd day, and had for godfathers Sr. Arthure Heveningham and Sr. Charles Cornwallis, Knights, and for godmother my sister Richardson.

The book also served as a general note book, from which I have selected the following:—

A MEDECINE FOR THE GREENE SICKNES.

First send to some apothecary for some physick to purge for the greene sicknes which she must take but once Yf yt worke well or ells must take twoo, one after an other.

Then the next daye take as much of the filings of steele prepared as will lye uppon a groate in a little pap of an apple twice a day about vij of the clock in the morning and three in the afternone, and walk after it every time, but not above ther strenth (strength ?) presently after

she have taken the steele she must drinke a draught of mace ale warme. She must take it ten dayes together, and when she make an end the next day she must purge.

A GOOD PURGE.

Take two ounces of syrrup of Damask roses, two ounces of syrrup of Ruberbe, and one ounce of syrrup agrick mixt together, and a third part taken in possit ale will serve for a good purge, so as the whole receyt will serve thrice.

A SOLLUBLE MEDECINE.

Take fower or fyve budds of damask roses and cut away the whyte, wash them, and eat them in the morning fasting, with bread and butter, and so many budds so many stooles.

Bitony leaves put into your nose in the morning fasting will purge the heade.

FOR A THORNE.

Take Birdlyme, lay yt on lether, and put it on the place where the thorne went in.

FOR THE BLODY FLUX OR OTHER FLUX.

A date stone in powder given in a drafte of red wyne warme to drinke.

Mynt water or syrrup of quinces being given fasting warme will stop either vomit or flux.

The following is a new version of the old charm:—

“Christe was the first man that ever thorne prickt uppon, He did neother swell nor bell nor feel any payne, nor I trust in the Lorde Jesus Christe this never shall.”

Durant' locutione quor' verbor' signa vulnus signo crucis et durant' verb' sequent'.

E prees (*sic*) excepting the lorde is wth the.

Hayle Mary full of grace, blessed art thou Mary amongst all women, and blessed is the frute and springe of thy wombe, sweete Jesus, Amen. In the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Holy Ghoste, sweete Jesus, Amen. And postea duas prec dominical' j Pater noster, &c., &c. Omnia hec sunt ter dicenda cum confidentia in deo, etc. Sudariol vel aliquis pannus linteus est benedicend' th (*sic*) forma et tunc ponend' sup vulnus vel morbum.

FOR THE COUGH IN THE LUNGES BY THE LADY
THOCKMORTON.

Take of shurbfoyle, sorrell, and Celendine of ech a quantity, but least of the Celendine, chop them small and make porage thereof wth oatmeale, barme, and butter, and a very little gross pepper. Eat a littel of this porage untill you be weary of it, then rest and begin againe.

Boile a good quantity of these herbes in clean possit ale and drinke a good draughte of yt last at nighte when you are in the bed, wth sugar or without, but best wth sugar.

AN OTHER.

Take litle peeces of lucras (? liquorice) well scraped and holde betwene each syde of your cheekes, one of them all nyghte. Do so for three weekes together or longer yf you will. Conserve of red roses with pepper very grosly beaten, or rather cut in the mydel, eaten morning or evening.

The quantity of a little walnut when you take not the porage.

Rosted garlycs is good with your meate.

A GYRDELL FOR THE STONE.

Take fetherfew, garden tansy, planten, howseleeke, of ech a like quantity, but least of the howseleeke, stampe

them, straine them, and put the juyces of them into a glass bottell to keepe.

Take so much of the same juyce as beane flower and so much as you will, seeth them till they be thick like salve, then. spreede yt upon a linnen clothe three fyngers broad and lay yt about the smale of the back up to the navill, let yt lye till yt be drye, then change yt. Use this six dayes and for other six.

This was used to Mr. St. John whene all physicians and surgeons had given over, and cured him.

3 July, 1596.

THE ORDER OF MAKING PELLETS FOR ONE THAT IS THICKE OF HEARING.

Take of the cleanest and fynest stone pitre 4 grains of pure musk, fynely ground upon a perfuming stone, 8 graines, and by some that hath faer and cleane hands betwixt the thumbe and palme make the pitre soft lyke wax, wetting your finger and palm a little with fasting spittle whereby yt shall not cleave to when yt is become soft, then mould yt in the powder of the musk that is ground upon the stone till yt have received yt all, afterwards incorporate them together in the palm as aforesaid, then devyde it into 2 small pelletts betwixt your fingers of almost half an Inch long, and lapp yt in Cersnett whyt or Crymson, what couller you lyke, of that proportion that the eare may safelie receive yt.

Then tye the Cearsnett with a silke thread hard, and leave the two ends of the thread about 2 Inches longe, cuttinge of the Cearsnett to make yt lyke a tuft. Then let them lye till they be hardened againe, as pire (? for pitre) will, and then thrust one of them into your ear as far as you can induce yt, on which syde you feel most imperfections, leaving the thread to be turned

behynd the eare that you may pull yt out the rather when you list, wearing yt nyght or day, or both, or in one eare or both, as you see occasion, yf you thinke good.

This pellet thus prepared will last you a quarter of a yeare, to be worne either continually, or of nyghte if you list not to weare yt of the day, being clenly and close laid up in when you use yt not.

Heareof you save 2 ready to be used for your eare or eares.

I have also sent you a masse or pellett ready tempered and wrought to make 2 more of the same pporcon (proportion) wch. will keepe as yt is a yeare or two. But when you devyde yt to make into 2 pellets yt must be mollified in ones handes and lapped up as aforesaid.

This medecyn hath ben tryed and done good to many of all ages and offensive to none.

My ould Lady Stanhopp used yt and found such great ease in yt that she wore yt till her dyinge daye.



HICKLING LANE, SWAINSTHORPE.

LOOKING WEST FROM THE RAILWAY BRIDGE.

“On the Course of the Ickneild Way through Norfolk.

COMMUNICATED BY

J. C. TINGEY, M.A., F.S.A.

ON the south coast of England in Dorsetshire is the southern termination of the cretaceous formation, which from thence strikes north-east and is continued through Wiltshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and lastly Norfolk, where it loses itself in the North Sea at Hunstanton Cliff. Now the chalk where it reaches the surface is for the most part a deposit upheaved to some altitude above the sea level, and its strike is almost as clear on a physical map as on a geological one. For instance, there are the Dorset Heights and Cranborne Chase, then the Wiltshire and Berkshire Downs, and the Chiltern Hills, which are continued in the East Anglian Heights. Moreover, in some of the ordinary geographical maps of England this line is quite distinct, owing to the sparseness of the population in its locality. To the west of the chalk that is underlying it the greensand occurs; its exposed surface is never very wide, and often disappears altogether. It is a low-lying formation, and Charles Kingsley has spoken of it as the

Greensand Valley, which is represented in East Anglia by the Fens.

Along the whole length of the chalk downs and overlooking the Greensand Valley antiquaries have traced a road or trackway extending as far as Suffolk and presumed to have reached the sea somewhere on the coast of Norfolk. This trackway bears different names in different localities, but it is generally known to antiquaries as the Ickneild Way, a term which Dr. Guest has expanded into "Icen hilde weg," and his interpretation of it is "The highway or war way of the Icenî."¹ It is closely associated with British hill forts and earthworks, and avoids Roman encampments, and is also said to shun rivers and towns; but the chalk ridge is not a place where one would expect to find the one or the other, so that the matter of the rivers at least is only a consequence, yet it must be confessed that it behaves in a peculiar way in the neighbourhood of certain towns.

Mr. Arthur Taylor, writing fifty years ago,² gave documentary proof of the existence of this road at Newmarket, between which place and Dunstable it is comparatively easy to trace it. He then goes on to shew its course to Thetford through Icklingham. Dr. Guest also traces it to Icklingham, but does not venture further.

Few have said anything on the site of the Ickneild Way between Icklingham and the coast of Norfolk, and they differ considerably in their opinions—one makes for Caistor, another for Norwich, another for Tasburgh—each appears to have settled upon one of these places, and more or less imagined the road to it. Now, if the geological and physical evidence is followed, and the chalk elevation in Norfolk examined, what is the result?

¹ *Essay on the Four Roman Ways, Archaeological Journal*, vol. xiv., p. 99.

² *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, Norwich*, p. 21.

Strangely enough two roads are found, and the difficulty is to determine which is the right one. For a long time the writer was of the opinion that it could be none other than the Peddar's Way, but his attempts to connect that road with the Ickneild Way did not meet with much success. After a while, meeting with Mr. Beloe's *Essay on the Great Fen Road*,¹ he discarded the Peddar's Way for the Ailesway. The course of this last, between Narford and Hunstanton, may be left entirely to Mr. Beloe. South of Narford, however, where it is no longer a part of the Great Fen Road, he conducts it to Brandon Ferry by a curving line, with its convex side to the west, and gets into some marshy tracts. Possibly he has good reasons for doing so, but the uninitiated may prefer a line through Ickburgh and Cockley Cley, having its convex side to the east. Faden's map of Norfolk, published just a hundred years ago, shows a very suitable road, which has apparently entirely disappeared since the inclosure of the parishes, leading to the latter place. By taking this route the higher ground will be traversed, and no very formidable obstacles encountered, the Wissey being crossed at Mundford. "From Brandon," Mr. Beloe says, "the Ailesway goes to join the Ickneild," presumably at Newmarket, after crossing Portway Hill. It is, however, sufficient for the present purpose to point out that he acknowledges the connection.

While the geological evidence leads to the conclusion that the Ailesway represents the original and probably prehistoric course of the Ickneild, its name is a proof that the Angles did not recognize it as such, and therefore it cannot be considered a portion of one of the four great roads mentioned in the laws of Edward the Confessor. The constant geographical changes occurring on the east coast may have produced a harbour in this

¹ *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, vol. vii. pp. 112-130.

direction more convenient for the continental trade than the roadstead at Hunstanton, the latter perhaps deteriorating owing to the encroachments of the sea.

The former importance of Hunstanton is attested by the fact that no less than four ancient roads led to it, and it was the terminus of two of them. There was this Ailesway connecting it by the Ickneild Way with the south-western parts of the island, that is to say with the tin district. Next there was the Fen Road extending due west at least as far as the Ermine Street, and thus communicating with the north and north-west. Then there was the Peddar's Way leading to London and the south, and there was the Akeman Street lying between the Fen Road and the Ickneild, conducting to the west. It should also be noticed that the Fen Road coming from March has an easterly direction until it has passed the fen and reached the firm ground, where it turns at almost a right angle to the north, a fact which can only be accounted for by supposing that some place in the north-west corner of Norfolk was its destination.

As already stated, the four Roman roads mentioned in the laws of Edward the Confessor could not have included the Ailesway, and so the question still remains, viz., what was the recognized course of the Ickneild Street at that period?

In endeavouring to answer this question it is the design of the present paper to make use of such documentary evidence as is forthcoming, and to connect the points so demonstrated by what seems the most probable route.

Blomefield states in his account of Banham that one of the roads there was called Tycknald Street,¹ surely a corruption of "The Ickneild Street." It has not been possible for the writer to test this statement, but should it be considered insufficient, further evidence will shortly

¹ *History of Norfolk*, vol. i., p. 357.

be adduced shewing that there is reason to believe that the road in question passed through Banham. Now to connect Newmarket with Banham. Two intervening places at once demand attention—the one is Icklingham, the other Thetford, and Mr. Taylor conducts it to the former through Kentford and Cavenham, and thence by the division of the Hundreds of Lachford and Blackbourn to the latter, implying that the river Lark was crossed at Lachford. This is the generally accepted course, and there is no disposition to call it in question here if it is admitted that Thetford stood chiefly on the Suffolk side of the river. Beyond Thetford Mr. Taylor's objective was avowedly Norwich, and quite recently Mr. W. G. Clarke has attempted to fill in the intermediate points for him, and has supposed a line closely coinciding with the modern turnpike road from Norwich to Thetford. Probably Mr. Clarke has traced a road now no longer in existence, but he is evidently wedded to the Norwich theory, and the statement "that Norwich Castle Hill was one of the most noted British earthworks in East Anglia is undisputed," seriously discounts what is really a very valuable paper, and as he takes his road over the Thet at Thetford he is compelled to cross the same river again at Larlingford.¹

It has been said before that the Ickneild Street avoids towns, and this paper suggests that on approaching Thetford it turned somewhat abruptly at Old Elvedon Gap to the east and reached the Little Ouse at a point which is now the south-east corner of Barnham Cross Common some mile and a half above Thetford and the junction with the Thet. There is here but a narrow strip of low ground on either side of the river, and the high ground of Snare Hill on the Norfolk bank would have tempted the prehistoric traveller. Then clinging to the

¹ *Knowledge*, February, 1899.

watershed of the two mentioned rivers, a district abounding in tumuli, of which the Seven Hills may be noticed, it passed the future site of Shadwell Park to the Harlings, and so by Up-hall and Kenninghall to Banham. In admitting that no trace of this road is known to exist, at all events on the heaths, the present writer is met with the same difficulty that others have encountered in the immediate neighbourhood, and he may be permitted to say with them that the continuous growth of the bracken has obliterated all trace of it. As an alternative, a line from Elvedon to Barnham and so over the river where Rushford Bridge now stands to Shadwell may be mentioned.

Leaving Banham, the next point is a still existing trackway about twelve miles distant, dividing the modern parishes of Swainsthorpe and Dunston, and to this day known as Hickling Lane. This way is mentioned in a seventeenth century conveyance as Icklinge Way, *e.g.* Thomas Steward conveyed to John Mingaye meadows and pasture in Swainsthorpe "between the highway leading from Newton to Norwich on the west part, and the river running between Stoke Holy Cross and the town of Swainsthorpe on the east, and between a way called *Icklinge Way* leading from the said river to Kenninghall on the north part, and the lands of Gilbert Havers in part, and the Common of Swainsthorpe on the south part." Also twenty-three acres in Swainsthorpe "between the highway leading from Newton to Norwich on the east, and the way called *Icklinge Way* on the north, and the way leading from the site of the Manor of Swainsthorpe to the Church of Swainsthorpe on the south."¹

To say nothing of the similarity in the name, these items are sufficient to identify the track, at least so far

¹ Deeds enrolled within the County of Norfolk, 1st October, 1622.

as it was the boundary of the lands conveyed. It is an exceedingly pretty green lane, and though so near Norwich, is apparently known to few, for the writer has never seen anyone there saving those he had taken with him. The railway passes underneath it, and allowing for the making of the railway arch, it has perhaps not been touched for centuries, except that the hedges on either side may have been planted when the parishes were enclosed.

At first sight one would suppose that nothing would be easier than to trace this road to Kenninghall, and consider the matter settled; but one cannot proceed far before being completely baffled, for after walking a few hundred yards, Hickling Lane meets a farm road running at right angles to it, and comes to an abrupt termination, yet it is almost certain that the roads here are to all intents the same now as they were a hundred years ago. The alternative of starting from the other end, viz., Kenninghall, seems to be the most simple way of pursuing the enquiry. That the Ickneild Way ran from Kenninghall to Banham has already been asserted, and the continuation of this road to Norwich has long been considered the modern representative of the same street, and so lends colour to Blomefield's statement that a street in Banham was called Tycknald. The fact that William de Albini chose a spot adjoining it for the Castle and Town of New Buckenham is perhaps significant, while Old Buckenham Castle, dating from the Roman occupation according to Harrod, is not quite two miles distant.

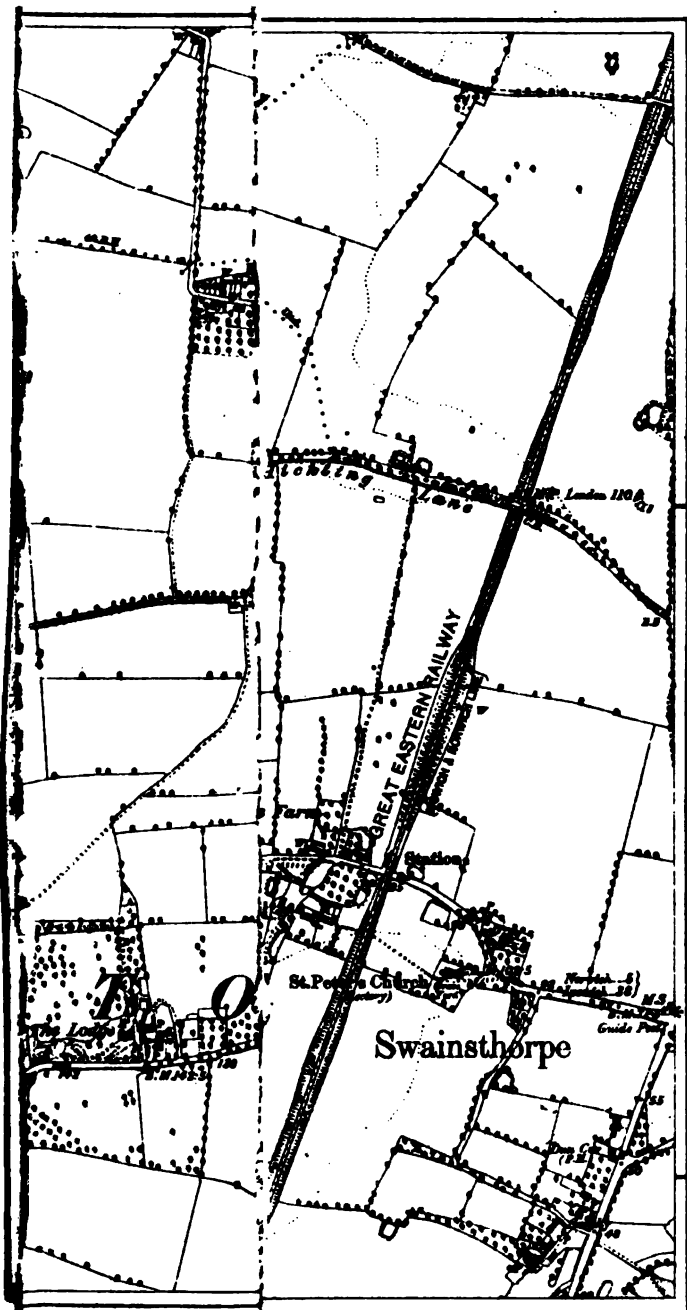
Advancing towards Norwich, there is nothing to demand attention until Mulbarton is reached. The distance from this place to Hickling Lane is about a mile as the crow flies, and if the two roads are to be connected at all, it is necessary to turn towards the east here, making the most of what can be found. There is a right

of way beginning with a footpath from Mulbarton Church, which shortly enters a completely isolated loke, and at the far end of this there is something resembling a trackway, which finally becomes a footpath again, leading towards Swainsthorpe Workhouse, and ends in the same road where Hickling Lane disappears, at a point some quarter of a mile further south.

This right of way has not been mentioned with the idea of asserting that it represents the identical course of the ancient Ickneild Way, but only to suggest a possibility that it ran somewhere near this line, which the requirements of agriculture may have determined. Returning to Hickling Lane, almost due north of the Workhouse, there is a plantation, and a little further west a gate where the lane enters a field. West of the gate the character of the road is entirely changed, and its ancient appearance is lost, so that it can be imagined to have once upon a time traversed the field adjoining the workhouse, which alone divides it from the right of way or footpath just noticed.

The conveyance quoted also states that Icklinge Way started from the river, evidently pointing to the Taas. The road is still there, and is still the boundary of the two parishes, although completely modernised between the turnpike and the river, and at this time known as Stoke Lane. It does not cross the river immediately, but turns to the north to Stoke Mill, and so passes over the dam, while if the narrow strip of meadow which separates the river from the turning point of the road is examined, a tree will be found in the line of the hedge on the left, and some appearance of a causeway is discernible as far as the river in the line of the road.¹

¹ This point is indicated in the latest Ordnance Survey thus: "C. old R.", presumably meaning "Course of old Road."



THE ICKNEILD WAY TH

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which causeway may also be traced on the six inch ordnance map.

As to the river, it is surely a more formidable obstacle now than it was in pre-historic times, when water power was hardly used for grinding corn, for when the mill was constructed (some centuries ago) it was necessary to hold back the water for the motive power, and most likely a way over the mill dam was in course of time found to be more convenient.

The next piece of evidence must now be treated. It is from a Common-place Book¹ of Henry Appleyard of Dunston, who copied it in 1592 from an extent of Dunston, by Mr. William Lacy, Clarke of the King's Council, 20th Aug., 1482.

"Item A pece of marshe and lythe. on the sowthe syde of Stooke mill environid wth y^e water of trane northe and east warde, and the common of Dunston on the west, and buttith on Hiclynge weye sowthe warde and con- teynithe v acars of marshe."

This marsh can be no other than the narrow meadow just mentioned, but whether the river then ran in its present channel is not so certain. It is spoken of in the conveyance as though it were the division of the townships of Stoke Holy Cross and Swainsthorpe, and, strictly speaking, this is not now the case, although the distance between the two never exceeds two hundred yards, and the writer having studied the ordnance maps, inclines to the opinion that the present parish boundary (it is still a watercourse) represents the ancient channel of the stream. However that may be it is definitely stated that Hiclynge weye ran at the southern end of this piece of marsh, and this tends to confirm the existence of the causeway spoken of above. Here the parish boundary

¹ Norwich Castle Museum Library.

runs about one hundred yards east of the point where it is shown that the causeway struck the river.

It may perhaps be mentioned here that Faden, who gave particular attention to the ancient tideways in his map of the county, published in 1797, does not represent it as flowing higher up the Taas than Stoke Mill, so that he would make the road to cross the stream just above the spot reached by the highest tides.

The marsh on the right bank is much wider than that on the left, and there is an arable field between it and the road from Stoke Church to Caistor. Here the causeway may perhaps be followed for a few yards from the river, and here seems to have been the shortest passage of the marsh. No documentary evidence is at present forthcoming that will afford a clue till the road is crossed, where a mortgage gives some further information. Before it is examined let it be stated that the distance over which the track is lost is less than four hundred yards, and let it be supposed that Hicklinge Way pursued a straight course in traversing this distance, then it would have opened on to the Caistor Road opposite to a by-road now leading to Poringland mill. Whether this by-road is identical with the one which existed previous to the enclosures may be questioned. At all events the divergence cannot be great, and it may here be neglected.

The mortgage is dated 29 May, 1629, and by it Francis Style pledged his lands in Stoke Holy Cross to Edward Myleham. The schedule of the lands contains the following items: "Inprimis one messuage called Lachelowes, and the Stone House, one pightle parcel of the tenement Toogoodes, and three pieces of pasture called the Sled Close, Ints Close, and Home Close, in Stoke Holy Cross in divers wentes, and adjoining to the said tenement Lachelows, and sideth in part and abutteth in part upon Maynes Grene and the common way leading from Porland

Heath to Stokefield towards the south, containing sixteen acres."

"Item, one other close called Dawes Close, newly divided with a ditch or hedge from the residue of the said close, containing thirty acres in Stoke in divers wents lying and heading upon the said Hicklinge Way on the south, and extending unto a brook or beck running from Halsted Grove unto Rockellswood, and upon the said wood in part, and Bromeclose in part, and the common field of Stoke in part towards the west, and upon or unto Wendlowe Close in part on the north."

"Item, one other close newly parted with a ditch in or near the middle thereof, lying in divers wents in Stoke, the said Hicklinge Way being on the south side thereof, and Rockellswood and the Brome Close on the north part thereof, and abuts upon the common field called Millfield towards the west, and upon the beck aforesaid towards the east, containing thirty acres."¹

It is much to be regretted that the writer of the schedule was not more precise (if he is correct in the second item) in concluding that he has already alluded to Hicklinge Way: there is only "the common way leading from Porland Heath to Stokefield" to fall back upon, for no other road is mentioned. It is evident that Hicklinge Way held a course lying approximately east and west through Stoke Holy Cross, as is here required, and there is a suspicion that some point on it was not far from the mill.

Now the present by-road, which seems to be the site of Hicklinge Way, does lead to what was once Poringland Heath, under the name of Stoke Long Lane, and Faden's map does not show any other road that will answer the description, therefore if there is anything in circumstantial evidence, one must conclude that Hicklinge Way led to

¹ Deeds enrolled within the County of Norfolk.

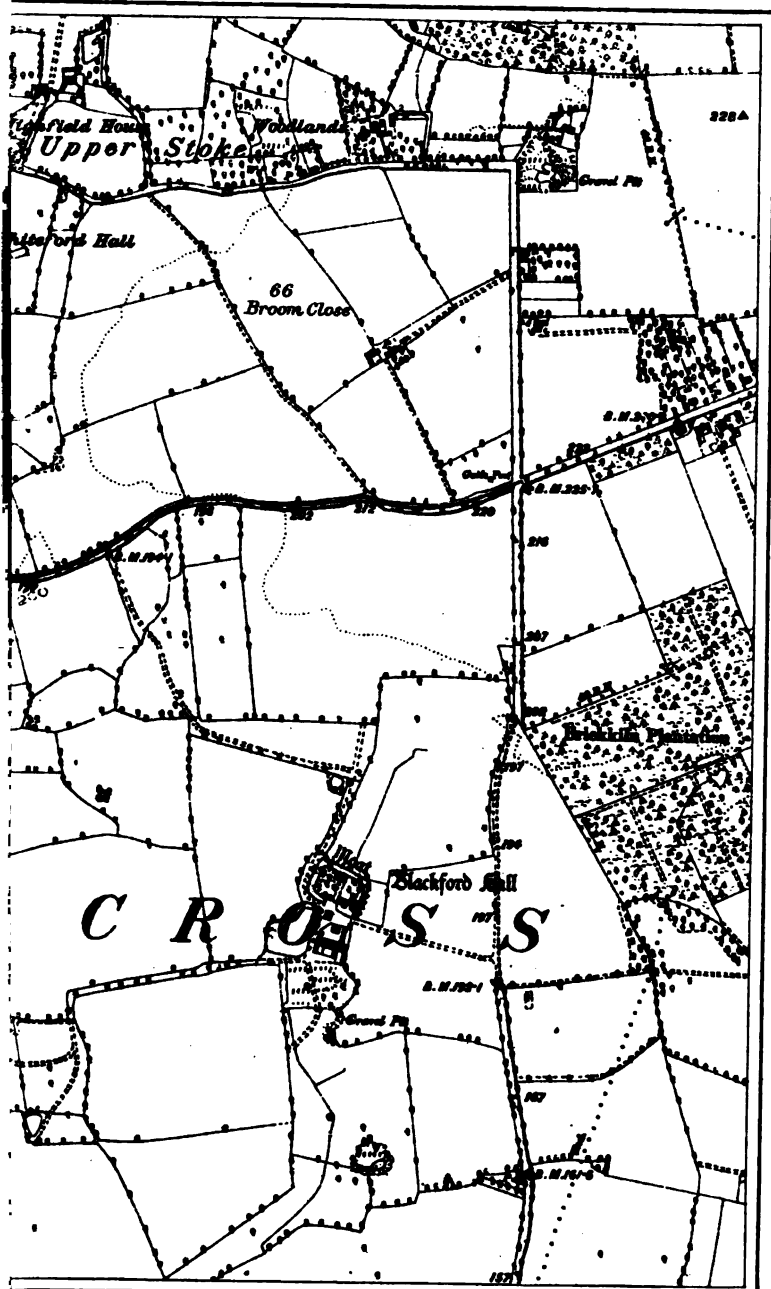
Poringland Heath, and if the modern road may be trusted, to the very top of Poringland Hill, which is about two miles from the Taas, and at one time thought to be the highest ground in Norfolk.

Again in 1658 William London conveyed to Robert London "two enclosures or parcels of land and pasture now converted into three enclosures in Stoke Holy Cross, containing together by estimation thirty acres, being parcel of the close commonly called Butcher's Close, in Stoke Holy Cross, as the same parcels do lie there together between the common way there called Hicklinge Way in part, and the lands and meadows late of Francis Style, now Francis London, called Oldsteade Grove and Beall's Hill meadow in part on the north part, and two other parcels of the said Butcher's Close, late the said Francis Style, now Thomas Lawse on the south part, and abutteth upon the land late the said Francis Style, after that Robert Parke, now the said Thomas Lawse, called Chequer Close towards the west, and upon the lands late Edmund Doyly, now Sir William Doyly, knight, towards the east."¹

The majority of the field names mentioned in both deeds are entirely lost. Such as remain tend to demonstrate that Stoke Long Lane is the representative of Hicklinge Way, as is illustrated by the accompanying plan. A brook or beck passes under the road west-north-west of Tagus Farm, where the smallest figures indicating the altitudes occur, and although Broom Close is still to be found, Broom Hills probably occupy the site of the old enclosure of that name; the names of the other fields also show a slight variation.

Having ascended the hill, one desires a breathing space which may be advantageously occupied by viewing the surrounding country and ascertaining one's whereabouts,

¹ Deeds enrolled within the County of Norfolk.



Stanford's Geog. Estab. London

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

not to mention that from this point documentary evidence fails. To the north-north-west Norwich Castle may be seen; it is already being left behind, and to reach it it is necessary to turn sharply to the left along the turn-pike road coming from Bungay. If Norwich is insisted upon as the objective of the Ickneild Way, the question why it should be approached in such a circuitous direction immediately occurs, for two sides of a right-angled triangle will have been perambulated where the hypotenuse, the direct route, presenting no insuperable obstacles, has been neglected. In fact, if anyone can prove that the Ickneild Way passed through Norwich the entire argument of the present paper falls to the ground. On the other hand, if there is anything to the point in this paper, it is most fortunate that it has been possible to demonstrate the path of the Ickneild Way at the very spot where Norwich and Caistor were likely to mislead.

Caistor, since it is on low ground, is not visible from Poringland Hill; that, too, has been passed where the road leading to it was crossed, that is to say, leaving it a mile distant on the north, and so, with Old Buckenham Castle, affording instances of the statement that the Ickneild Way avoided Roman stations.

The road leading to Caistor is called the Pye Road, said to be a Norman name¹ given to a trackway utilized by the Romans, and the parish in which the roads cross one another is Stoke Holy Cross. Is this nothing more than a coincidence, or was there a cross erected here before the church was dedicated? In other words, was the church dedicated to the Holy Cross in consequence of an existing epithet?

Having come thus far, there being but twelve miles intervening between Poringland Hill and a suitable

¹ *Local Names in Norfolk.*

termination for the road, it is hoped that the writer, for lack of anything better, may be permitted to express his crude opinion as to the direction in which enquiries should be pursued.

If it is admitted that had the ancient way any intention of crossing the Wensum, it would have done so at some spot where the river was fordable, and not, as would from this point be necessary, over what was formerly an estuary of the sea, a northerly course is denied. Moreover, having followed a north-easterly direction, the west, and to a less extent the south, appear utterly out of the question. The east alone remains open for the research, and it is advisable to keep near the watershed of the Wensum and the Chet as far as possible.

The modern road that has been followed from Stoke Holy Cross shews no sign of ending at Poringland; it crosses the Bungay Road, and then proceeds in a straight line nearly to Framingham Earl Church, where it turns to the right and left, leaving the enquirer very puzzled as to how he should proceed, and causing this last advance to be questioned.

Fortunately for the investigation, those who have spoken on the Roman roads of Norfolk have affirmed, with every show of reason, that a Roman road led from Caistor-by-Norwich to Haddiscoe, and so on to Burgh Castle,¹ while Mr. J. W. Robberds would conduct it, without much argument however, to Wheatacre Burgh.² Such a road must have run through Framingham Earl and then by Bergh Apton, the Venta Icenorum of Spelman, passing some British barrows there in the proximity of Thurton Church,³ to Loddon, Raveningham, and Haddiscoe. This road, at all events between Haddiscoe

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. 23, p. 366. *Local Names in Norfolk*, p. 170.

² *Eastern Valleys of Norfolk*, p. 31.

³ *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. v., p. 180.

and Raveningham, is known as the Port Way, and Dr. Mason, speaking of the Ickneild Street, says that from (New) Buckenham "one route goes direct to Caistor, and the other route goes near Taseburgh, south of Hemenhale, north of Ditchingham Hall, crossing the road from Loddon to Beccles, passing between Toft and Heckingham, by Hadiscoe Church to Burgh Castle,"¹ demonstrating that he also would lead the Ickneild Street to Haddiscoe, although by a route that is not under discussion here, while the first route confirms much that has been stated.

Beyond Haddiscoe nothing is now essayed. It may very well be that a port existed here in Celtic times, and that the Ickneild Way had it for its termination.

Returning to Swainsthorpe, let the road be followed to the south-west. A hamlet of Mulbarton, once a distinct township, is known as Keningham. Next, in Old Buckenham, was formerly some spot called Kentlow; then comes Kenninghall, while in Icklingham there is said to be an encampment named Kentfield.² Cambridgeshire is entered at Kentford, with Kennet close at hand. Adjoining Dunstable on the south is Kensworth. In Berkshire the Kennet and Kintbury Hundreds are found. After leaving Andover a tumulus named Kentbarrow is passed, and finally beyond Exeter Kenn and Kenn Ford are met with.

Since there are many other places in England having the prefix Ken (Kensington and Kenilworth will occur to most readers), it may be suspected that the presence of some of those mentioned is only coincidence, on the other hand is it right to assume that the whole list is the result of accident?

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., p. 12.

² *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, Norwich*, p. 20.

Now Kensworth in Herts. seems in former times to have been known as Ikenworth.¹ It almost touches the Ickneild Way, and perhaps affords a key to the puzzle. Let this key be put to the test in the case of Kenninghall, and the result will be found exceedingly interesting. In the first place the Celtic tribe inhabiting the district which afterwards became East Anglia, were known to their fellow tribes as "y Ceni," that is the head ones, "y" being the definite article. The Romans kept the name, expressing it in their tongue as Iceni, the initial "I" being very soft and the "C" very hard. Then came the Angles, and they too heard of the tribe whom they designated Ikenings as the nearest phonetic equivalent to the Roman name in their language. Secondly, the accepted etymology of Kenninghall is hall of the Kennings, of Ikenninghall it would be hall of the Ikennings, but to use a mathematical expression, the "I" goes out. Even the Romans did not attach much weight to it, for they spoke of the same people as the Iceni and the Cenimagni, and thus Kenninghall may be interpreted as hall of (the) Ceni. This reasoning has been anticipated by Camden, and it may be the foundation of the story that Queen Boadicea resided here, a statement which need not be believed. The writer is aware that Canon Manning declined to entertain the foregoing argument, still it may be questioned whether he has considered it more than superficially.²

Notice should also be taken of another point, viz., the two stumbling blocks that have caused so much confusion, the one Norwich, the other Bury St. Edmund's. The best authorities are now agreed that Norwich Castle Hill

¹ *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. ii., c. 1963.

² *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. vii., p. 290.

was thrown up by the Angles,¹ and there is nothing to prove that either Britons or Romans used the locality as a permanent habitation, while before the Romans guarded the estuary with their camps, the sea rovers would have rendered it untenable. Almost the same may be said of Bury. There is little or no proof of British or Roman occupation, and the idea that it was the Villa Faustina of the Antonine Itinerary no longer commands absolute belief. Now, after the Angles had settled at Norwich, and St. Edmund's Bury become a resort for

¹ When the basement of the Castle Keep was being cleared, at the time of its conversion into a Museum, excavations were made with a view to ascertaining the nature of the soil beneath. The following extract is from a letter written at the time (October, 1888), to the Rev. O. W. Tancock, by Mr. F. W. Harmer, F.G.S., a most competent eye witness:—

“After you left, Mr. Hudson and I went into the Castle. We then found that the trial shaft had gone down through made soil 43 ft. before it reached undisturbed ground. (At the bottom of the shaft the sand out of which the valley has been excavated was met with). Allowing 10 ft. for the height of the present floor line of the keep above the surface of the mound, this gives 33 ft. as the depth of the artificial portion, and this would bring us nearly to the level of the ground at the bottom of the Castle Hill. I think we may take it for granted that no architects, either ancient or modern, would have excavated the interior of the keep to this depth after the erection of the walls, and I think it is equally certain that no one destroyed the supposed spur of the high land of Ber Street for the pleasure of reconstructing it with made soil. If we have to go down 33 ft. from the surface of the mound before we reach undisturbed strata *on the side of the mound towards the high ground of Ber Street, a fortiori*, we should have to go at least an equal depth on the side towards the river, where the ground naturally slopes towards the lowest part of the valley. The earliest occupants of the Castle space naturally selected it as a point of vantage, but it was not high enough for their purpose, and so they raised it with the soil that was nearest at hand. The excavation of the different moats—40 ft. deep, as Mr. Hudson says—would provide an immense amount of material, and how could it be more naturally or conveniently utilized than in raising the mound, which no doubt grew in height from time to time. It occurs to me that a similar mound may be seen at Eye, and another at Thetford. Is not the Castle Hill at Cambridge artificial?”

See also the “Official Guide to Norwich Castle Museum,” p. 36.

pilgrims, the traffic on the Ickneild Way, running, as it does, conveniently near both places, was certain to be tapped in either direction, and the loops that are seen to-day passing through each of these towns are the result of the diversion, which has effectively caused the track, where it skirted these places, to fall into disuse, and to be almost obliterated by the lapse of centuries, the decadence of the terminus assisting the process.

In conclusion, the writer does not pretend that the last word on this obscure subject has been said—probably it never will be said—he only trusts that his opinions may be weighed with those of others, and credence given to the one who approaches nearest to the goal.

Inventories of the parish church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich.

BY

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

THE first of the Inventories which form the subject of this communication is contained in a paper book of thirty-three leaves, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins., now known as MS. 871 of the Stowe Collections in the British Museum.¹

It is written throughout in English, in a clear hand of the beginning of the sixteenth century, with added entries by at least six later scribes.

There is no original heading or title to the document, but on the first page is written in a seventeenth century hand:

“An Inventory of Books, Copes, Vestments, Altar Cloaths,
Carpets, Curtains, Hangings, Mitres, Croziers, Silver

¹ The transcript from which the following text is printed was obligingly made by the Rev. W. Hudson, M.A., F.S.A., and the text has been collated throughout, when in proof, with the original manuscript.

plate and Gilded Chalices, Basons, Pixes, Holy Water Stopps, Banner Cloaths, Napery, Towells, &c. formerly belonging to St Peter's Church in the City of Norwich, and there used before the Reformation, &c."

On the second page¹ is also written, in the same hand :
 "This Book formerly belong'd to St Peter (of Mancrofts) Church in Norwich."

Although the inventory lacks its original heading, the internal evidence is conclusive that it refers to the church of St. Peter Mancroft at Norwich, and that its date must fall within the first few years of the sixteenth century.

Inventories of such a date are comparatively so rare that every additional example is of value, especially when it deals with the goods and ornaments of an important church like St. Peter Mancroft. But in this instance the value is greatly enhanced by the fact that the inventory, besides being an unusually full one and containing a large number of interesting items, describes in careful terms where each particular set of ornaments was kept. The importance of this will be understood when it is stated that no such detailed account of the furniture and contents of the medieval vestry of an English parish church has hitherto come to light.

The church of St. Peter Mancroft, as we now see it,

¹ On the second page, in a hand somewhat later than the original, is this note :

esf day last paste [*lj^a struck out*] iij^s ij^d.

and at the bottom of the same page, reversed, in a second hand :

j p^r c^a [*xlij struck through*] xlv ys of [*pcell gylt struck out*] whyt.

ij p Cha xxij^s [*pcell written over*] wye.

j pyx xvij^s all gilt.

j payer Cbyler (?) [*all struck out*] xx^s all gilt.

I^p A whele iiij and di.

Dedecacion xvj^s viij^d.

Similar entries in the same hand occur on ff. 24b and 33a. See *post*.

is a re-building of about the middle of the fifteenth century of an older structure on the same site. It consists of a chancel of three bays, with aisles of two bays, a nave and aisles of six bays, north and south transepts, north and south porches, a western tower, and a three-storied building at the east end containing the vestries, etc. The arcades are continuous throughout, as are the clerestory and grand open roof above them.

The chancel was formerly separated from the nave by a rood screen, crossing the entire width of the church, and surmounted by a rood loft, reached by a large circular vice on each side. The pulley from which was suspended the light that burnt continually before the rood or "patible" on the "perk" or beam above the loft still remains in the roof, as it does also at the neighbouring church of St. Stephen. Between the stalls, which occupied the bay next the screen, and the altar platform, which filled the first or easternmost bay, was a flight of many steps. These exist, but their original disposition has been altered during the successive "restorations" the church has undergone. The steps are due to the existence, beneath the altar platform, of an archway or passage leading from one side of the church to the other. This passage was made to provide a way for the Palm Sunday and other processions which usually made the circuit of the church and cemetery, because the way round the old church had been blocked through the extension of the new building to the eastern limit of the graveyard.

Besides the high altar, which was anciently surmounted by a great reredos flanked by tabernacles with images of St. Peter and St. Paul, there were four other altars in the church, placed in the chancel aisles and transepts, and dedicated respectively in honour of Our Lady, St. John Baptist, the Holy Trinity, and St. Nicholas.

The contents of the Inventory may be classified, according to their order, as follows:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| i. Books | vii. Curtains and Altar Hangings |
| ii. Palls and Carpets | viii. Altar Cloths |
| iii. Cushions and Pillows | ix. Mitres and Crosiers |
| iv. Copes and Vestments | x. Banner Cloths and Staves |
| v. Silver Plate, Jewels, and Relics | xi. Napery |
| vi. Corporases, Canopies, and Pix Cloths | xii. Lumber Timber |

i. Foremost among the books were those used at the hour services, consisting of five antiphonars and three others described as old, three legends, a book for the chanters or *rectores chori*, a book for the organs, a "vitetory booke" with the hymns, a pricksong book, a collectar, four old psalters and another in the custody of Sir Thomas Love, and an old portose or breviary. For use at mass were four grails and a little one which "servyth for Childern," a "pistill booke," a "gospelary," and ten *missalia* or massbooks. Of the last-named, four were used at the high altar, one "for every day." A fifth belonged to John Cosyn's chantry, kept at the altar of Our Lady, and two others, one old, to the same altar. The other three massbooks belonged to the altars of St. John, the Holy Trinity, and St. Nicholas respectively. For use in processions were nine "processionaries," and for occasional services a manual. The list is completed by an *ordinale* or ordinal. The only addition to the original list is an antiphonar "of conyers yift."

ii. Of the coverings called palls there were five: one was of blue silk with gold images of the Salutation and St. Paul and St. Nicholas; another of green with gold lions; and a third, which was perhaps a herse-cloth for funerals, was of black velvet, with a cross of

cloth of gold, and powdered with angels. A sixth pall was afterwards added of black "steynynd with fflowyrs."

The list of carpets includes a number of coverlets, cushions, banker cloths, etc.

The carpets and coverlets seem to have been very poor, the only one of any value being apparently a great carpet of white, green, and red, to lay before the high altar. The others had once been pretty things, and it is not difficult to picture in one's imagination the red and yellow coverlet powdered with griffins and knots, or the blue one with its decoration of oak trees and birds and a "scripture," praying, maybe, for the good estate of the donor. Three cushions of carpet work are described as "longyng to the presbitery," *i.e.* the sedilia, but on ordinary occasions there were "iij old qwishons daily lying" therein. For the "forme in the queer," whatever that may have been, there was a banker cloth of green verdour, and an alternative one of blue with white lilies.

Another coverlet was afterwards given, of green and blue with birds and lions.

iii. The cushions and pillows forming the next section appear to have been of a more ornate character, and were doubtless used to lay on the altars to carry the massbooks, and for such like purposes.

iv. The list of copes and vestments is a long one, occupying seven leaves of the inventory.

Of the copes, two red and one each of blue, yellow, and black seem to have been constantly in use, so were kept handy in the upper vestry. The rest were kept in the lower vestry, and evidently comprised several groups. Thus there were four pairs, of green, red, white, and blue respectively, of rich material and workmanship, which were only used occasionally, and had sheets to cover them. Another group of eight pairs

and nine single copes were of lesser value; some were "sore worne," and none had a covering sheet. A third group contained four copes "for childern", of red and white checkers, and two "for the boy that is the bushope," one of yellow and blue panes or stripes, the other of green "bawdkyn." The total number was thus thirty-eight, to which were subsequently added two of white "busteny," two of velvet, and one of blue damask. The copes are all described at some length, but in no case is the occasion of use specified or indicated, except those worn by the boy-bishop and his mates.

The vestments, like the copes, were divided into two groups: those in regular use, which were kept in the upper vestry; those only occasionally used, which were stored in the lower vestry.

The former included seven "complet" vestments or suits, *i.e.* a chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle, otherwise called, after those who wore them, "prest decon and subdecon," and probably the stoles, fanons, girdles, and apparels for the albes and amices belonging to them, since these are not otherwise mentioned in the inventory. The suits comprised a blue one "for the sondays," one of blue and yellow bawdkyn, and others of red, green, white, yellow, and black respectively. There were also eight single vestments, that is chasubles only, with apparently the amices, albes, stoles, fanons, and girdles worn with them. Two of them were black, two of green, of which one "serves for every day," two of white, one of blue, and one of red.

The vestments for occasional use included three principal groups. The first contained nine suits of rich workmanship and material. Of these one was of purple velvet, one of green cloth of tissue, and a third of red and green bawdkyn (apparently reckoned as green). There were also suits of red bawdkyn and red tissue respectively,

of blue velvet and black velvet, and of white bawdkyn and white satin. The single vestments were divided into two groups:

- (a) plain white vestments for each of the five altars, for use in Lent; and a blue vestment, which "servyth to bere the oil & cream at ester."
- (b) rich white vestments for the four minor altars and the use of St. Anne's gild; and a coloured vestment for each altar. The colours of the latter were: for the high altar, red and green; for the altars of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, blue; dun for the Trinity altar; and red for St. John Baptist's.

Besides the above there was a single vestment "of chekker worke velvet grene & yelow for the prest to sing in uppon sent nycholas day"; a suit "for my lord & ij of his bois," i.e. the boy bishop and his deacon and subdeacon, of checker work; and part of another vestment "for the bushope."

The additions to the inventory comprise six "single" vestments: one of ray, that is striped stuff, "of colour Red and blewe," another of blue, a third of white striped with red and green, a fourth of red, a fifth of green, and another of some striped yellow stuff.

A comparison of the copes and vestments in the original list shews that they were for the most part correlated, and that the subdivision arises from their having been kept separately for convenience owing to their difference of shape. The relation of the several copes, suits, and single vestments will be more clearly seen in the accompanying table, which does not include the Lenten vestments.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF COPEs, SUITS, AND SINGLE VESTMENTS.

IN THE UPPER VESTRY :

COPEs.	SUITS.	SINGLE VESTMENTS.
Blue, with white flowers and gold leopards and coarse velvet orphreys.	Blue, with white flowers and gold leopards, and coarse red velvet orphreys "for the Sundays."	Blue chamlet with red orphreys.
[The blue bawdkyn cope of this suit was in the lower vestry].	Blue and yellow bawdkyn with white flowers, and coarse green velvet orphreys with gold crosses.	
Two red silk, with gold leopards and flowers, and green bawdkyn orphreys.	Red silk branched with white flowers, the orphreys blue silk with gold stars.	Red bawdkyn powdered with "bokes" (p bucks) with red orphreys.
Yellow, with flowers and gold stars, and blue worsted orphreys.	Yellow bawdkyn with blue silk orphreys.	
Old black velvet with gold flowers, with red satin orphreys and green fringes.	Black bawdkyn with gold squirrels, with red cloth of bawdkyn orphreys, "vergid" or edged with yellow ribbon.	Black, powdered with red roses.
	Also green bawdkyn with peacocks and red orphreys, and	Black worsted with blue orphreys powdered with white ffr.
	White bawdkyn with white birds and stripes of cloth of gold of Lucca.	Green cloth of bawdkyn old, with stole and fanon of other colours, "and serves for every day."
		Old white bawdkyn, worn, with red cloth orphreys.

IN THE LOWER VESTRY :

Two of green cloth of tissue, one with orphreys of gold embroidery of the story of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the other with apostles and prophets in orphreys.	Green cloth of tissue, with embroidered orphreys; on the chasuble, the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
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In the Lower Vestry (*continued*).

COPIES.	SUITS.	SINGLE VESTMENTS.
Two of red cloth of tissue, with apostles and prophets in orphreys.	Red tissue, with orphreys of embroidery.	White damask, with red orphreys. For St. Anne's Gild.
Two of white damask, with orphreys of apostles and virgins; one with M and A crowned, the other with Jhc and M crowned, all of gold.	Blue velvet powdered with flowers, and orphreys of embroidery work.	White satin, with red orphreys and a crowned M. For Our Lady's Altar.
Two of blue velvet, branched and powdered with gold flowers; one with apostles and virgins, the other with divers martyrs in the orphreys.	Purple velvet, with gold archangels and red velvet orphreys with images.	Blue worsted, with Jhc and M crowned, and coarse orphreys of images. For Our Lady's Altar.
Red damask with gold archangels, and the Passion in the orphreys.	Red and green bawdkyn with gold peacocks and orphreys of images.	Dun damask, with flowers and blue velvet orphreys. For the Trinity Altar.
Blue velvet with gold archangels and red velvet orphreys with martyrs.	White bawdkyn with gold lions, and red bawdkyn orphreys.	White bawdkyn with gold pheasants and dogs, and red orphreys. For St. Nicholas' Altar.
Red velvet and white satin paned.	White satin, with red satin orphreys with flowers.	White diaper, with red orphreys with flowers. For the Trinity Altar.
Dun velvet with gold flowers and red velvet orphreys.		White busteny with flowers, and red worsted orphreys. For St. John's Altar.
Green bawdkyn with gold peacocks and orphreys with apostles and virgins.		
Two of green satin with gold flowers and red satin orphreys.		
Two of white bawdkyn, with gold eagles and blue orphreys with gold eagles.		
Two of white diaper branched, with red satin orphreys with blue columbines.		
Two of white busteny and flowers, with red sendall orphreys, one with flowers, the other with T's.		

In the Lower Vestry (*continued*).

COPES.	SUITS.	SINGLE VESTMENTS.
Green bawdkyn with gold lions and white orphreys.	Red bawdkyn with small gold eagles, and orphreys with the Passion.	Red and green bawdkyn with gold lions and unicorns, and blue sarsnet orphreys. For the High Altar.
Sanguin worsted, with green worsted orphreys.		Red satin with flowers, and green satin orphreys with flowers. For St. John's Altar.
Two sore worn, of red bawdkyn with gold eagles, and green velvet orphreys with imagery.	[The suit to which this cope belonged was in the upper vestry].	Blue sarsnet with plain green orphreys. For St. Nicholas' Altar.
Two of green bawdkyn with blue orphreys with gold pheasants and white flowers.	Black velvet, with blue velvet orphreys with gold fleurs-de-lis.	
Blue bawdkyn powdered with white, and green velvet orphreys with gold crowns and stars.		
Black velvet, sore worn, with blue velvet orphreys with gold fleurs-de-lys.		
Two black worsted with plain green velvet orphreys.		

FOR THE BOY-BISHOP.

Four copes "for childern" red and white checky.	A complete vestment "for my lord & ij of his bois" of single sarcenet checker work.	A single vestment of checker work velvet, green and yellow, for the priest to sing in on St. Nicholas' day.
A cope for the boy-bishop paned yellow and blue.		The "uppermore parte" of a vestment for the bishop of steyned cloth "with amor."
A green bawdkyn cope "for the bushope."		

v. The church seems to have been unusually rich in plate, but owing to the weights not having been always filled in, it is impossible to estimate its sum or bullion value. Almost everything was of silver, usually enriched with gilding, and sometimes decorated with enamels.

As in the case of other ornaments, such plate as was constantly used was kept in the upper vestry, while the rest was carefully stowed away in chests and coffers in the lower chamber. The former included a silver censer "daily occupied," with its ship, a wooden cross plated with silver and with a latten socket, and four "pair chalis." This last term means a chalice and its paten, and not merely a couple of chalices.

The list of the remainder of the plate is headed by a description of a very splendid cross with a Crucifix and figures (probably on brackets) of Our Lady and St. John. The three uppermost arms terminated in medallions with the Evangelists in enamel, and the lowest with another containing the twelve Apostles. The field of the cross behind and before was of blue enamel, with white (i.e. silver) roses, but the rest of the metal work was gilt. At the bottom a short length with "vj wrethyng wormes" joined the cross to its foot, which was eight sided, with the four evangelists alternating with three figures of prophets; the eighth panel was filled with a sitting figure of St. Peter in silver on a ground of blue enamel, with kneeling figures before him of the donor, his wife, and child. As was often the case, so that it might be used in processions, this cross was furnished with a staff of equal splendour of silver and gilt, with four graven and enamelled bosses, and a top decorated with six figures of the apostles under canopies; the bosses or "knoppis" bore "his name that gave it," Richard Ballis. The cross and its foot together weighed 166 ounces.

The second cross had no side figures, but seems otherwise to have been an ornate one, decorated with enamels. It had a separate foot, and so could be set on a staff for processions at pleasure.

Only one pair of candlesticks is mentioned, of silver parcel-gilt with hexagonal knots, and weighing fifty-two ounces. They do not seem to have been in constant use, one being locked up, while the other stood out in the nether vestry "for buryyng℥."

The solitary pair of parcel-gilt cruets were engraved with the distinguishing letters V for *Vinum* and A for *Aqua*. One of them was left out with the candlestick "for cristenyng℥."

For the washing of the priest's hands at mass the church had two pair of silver basons. The principal pair, one of which had a spout under the rim like a lion's head, were parcel-gilt, and weighed forty-four ounces, and had in the bottoms figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, engraven in roses of pounced work. One bason was left out "w^t the cruet for cristenyng℥." The other pair may not have been so heavy, but were wholly gilt, and decorated with roses and blue enamel, with deformed beasts graven about. As usual, one bason had a lion's-head spout.

Of pixes, for keeping the Sacrament in, there were three. The first was a standing pix, *i.e.* with a foot, of silver gilt, pounced with trefoils and dragons' tongues.

The second pix, which was also a standing one, was formed of a "gripe is eg," or ostrich's egg mounted, probably in silver gilt, and surmounted by a Crucifix. Within the cover was an engraved print of St. Christopher, and on the foot a shield or "scutchyn of a Rampying lion of ij colo's, gilt and blake." The third pix was a little parcel-gilt one with a cross on top.

Although the church possessed two other silver censers

than the one "daily occupied," they did not form a pair. One, which was all gilt, weighed forty-six ounces, and terminated in six round turrets, with "libbarddē hedde w^t spowttē" between to let out the smoke. Three of the turrets had tops or spires, and to the alternate ones the chains were fastened. The other censer, the gift of William Curtis, was of silver parcel-gilt "w^t iij libbarddē heede bleryng ther tounge."

For use with the censers was an incense ship with an ostrich feather standing in the midst; its weight was 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ounces.

Of paxes there were two, seemingly a pair, of silver gilt, with the Crucifixion and St. Mary and St. John on a field of blue enamel. They were given by Thomas Alen.

The next item is an unusual one in a parish church: a silver-gilt image of Our Saviour "w^t hys woundē bledyng" with a little pix for the Sacrament in the breast, and a diadem upon the head. The figure was mounted on a foot, and had a cross, probably in the hand.

This image was, no doubt, used at Easter in the same way as that in the cathedral church of Durham, of which we have so full an account in *Rites*. It was the custom there on Good Friday, after the singing of the Passion and the creeping to the Cross, for the two monks who had held the cross during the service to carry it to the Easter Sepulchre,

and there lay it within the said Sepulchre, with great devotion, with another picture of Our Saviour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose, with great reverence, the most holy and blessed Sacrament of the Altar, senceinge it and prayinge unto it upon their knees, a great space, settinge two tapers lighted before it, which tapers did burne unto Easter day in the morninge, that it was taken forth.

There was in the Abbye Church of Duresme verye solemne

service uppon Easter Day, betweene three and four of the clocke in the morninge, in honour of the RESURRECTION, where two of the oldest Monkes of the Quire came to the Sepulchre, beinge sett up upon Good Friday, after the Passion, all covered with red velvett and embrodered with gold, and then did sence it, either Monke with a pair of silver sencers sittinge on their knees before the Sepulchre. Then they both rising came to the Sepulchre, out of the which, with great devotion and reverence, they tooke a marvelous beautifull IMAGE OF OUR SAVIOUR, representing the Resurrection, with a crosse in his hand, in the breast wherof was enclosed in bright christall the holy Sacrament of the Altar, throughe the whiche christall the Blessed Host was conspicuous to the beholders. Then after the elevation of the said picture, carryed by the said two Monkes uppon a faire velvett cushion, all embrodered, singinge the anthem of *Christus resurgens*, they brought it to the High Altar, settinge that on the midst therof, whereon it stood, the two Monkes kneelinge on their knees before the Altar, and scenceing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the foresaid anthem of *Christus resurgens*.

The image was then taken off the altar and carried in procession under a purple canopy round about the church,

the whole quire waitinge uppon it with goodly torches and great store of other lights, all singinge, rejoyceinge, and praising God most devoutly, till they came to the High Altar againe, wheron they did place the said image there to remaine untill the Ascension Day.¹

To return to the inventory. This includes a holy water "stick" with three gilt wreaths, weighing four ounces, but makes no mention among the original entries of the bucket or vessel with which it was used.

The silver-gilt "pixe" surmounted by the Crucifix, etc. and "iiij red roses a bought the glase on boith sid[es]," was evidently a monstrance for carrying the Sacrament

¹ *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society 16), 10, 11.

in on Corpus Christi Day. It was the gift of John of Shottesham, and weighed twenty-one ounces.

The silver parcel-gilt chrismatory "w^t iij angelles beryng it up at ich corner . . . ther wing^t a brode" would appear to have been of triangular or trefoil shape, to hold the three little vessels of *chrisma*, *oleum sanctum*, and *oleum infirmorum*.

The relics belonging to the church were kept in two silver-gilt pixes of the gift of Richard Ballis, alderman, "whos name is written in ther fette." One had a cross of glass or crystal enclosing another of "tymber," and four pearls; the other was ornamented with a Crucifix, etc.

Besides the chalices already enumerated, eight others are specified, five being "all gilte" and three parcel-gilt. As before, each chalice and paten is described as a "pair." Like several existing examples, two of the chalices had texts engraved round the bowl, and three bore the donor's name. One of the patens was also similarly inscribed.

The added entries to the list of plate are fifteen in number. Two are written on the blank page (f. 15b) opposite the beginning of the list, and describe an enamelled pair of tablets belonging to Jesus mass, and a round *Agnus Dei* "w^t holy waxe."¹ The other entries are added at the end of the list, and include two more chalices and patens, four pixes, another pair of basons, four paxes, a holy water stoup and stick, a verge, a pair of cruets, and a "relay" in the form of an ewer parcel-gilt.

¹ This was one of the cakes or medallions made of wax mixed with balsam and cream, stamped with the *Agnus Dei*, and blessed by the Pope on Easter Even. They were distributed to the faithful on Low Sunday to be kept as relics. See Du Cange, s.v. *Agnus Dei*.

Several of these items deserve more than a passing notice. The gilt pix "for the sacrament beryng" was a monstrance with two angels supporting the glass or crystal barrel, and a figure of "Jhc in his Sepulchre," otherwise Our Lord's Pity, between them; above the barrel were images of Our Lady and St. Peter and St. Paul, and under a "pavilion" on top an image of the Trinity. The pix for St. Peter's chain was probably a reliquary. The pair of basons were evidently things of beauty, with enamelled figures of saints set within roses *en-soleil*; they were perhaps used for collecting offerings in. The "verger of silver," surmounted by the cross keys and mitre of St. Peter, is an ornament not often found in a medieval parish church.

vi. Under the head of "Corporas" are enumerated sixteen corporas cases, nearly all of which are described as containing a corporas or "a cloith." Six of them were "for every day," and kept in the upper vestry with the chalices with which they were used; and four of them were "old." Of the better ones, three were red, two green, one blue, and another red and black. Three of the old corporas cases were embroidered, in one instance with the Wheel of Fortune, and the fourth was of black velvet. An added corporas case was also black.

The one canopy, for bearing over the Blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christi Day, was of red damask, embroidered with a gold chalice in the midst, and fringed with white, green, and red silk. When in use it was stretched over a frame of timber, with four staves stained red to carry it by.

The list of pix cloths is mostly made up of pieces of sarcenet of different sizes "for the covering of the pixe where the sacrament is." Three were of red, two of black, one of white, "sore worne," two others were of yellow and green respectively, and there was a fourth

red piece "sore worn." Only one pix cloth proper is mentioned, a good one over a yard square of red sarcenet, bound with yellow ribbon, with red and gold tassels at the corners. On the next page three additional examples are given: one a red sarcenet pix cloth bound with gold, with red and gold "knoppes;" a piece of red silk; and "j reed silke hangyng over the heigh auter over the pyxt daly."

vii. The original list enumerates three pairs of curtains, which were probably ridels or costers for altars. Two pair were green, and the third of blue and white "paned." As the dimensions, which are given, vary both as to length and breadth, the curtains perhaps belonged to different altars. The additions include (i) a pair of white curtains of stained cloth, with crowns of thorns and the Holy Name written in them in red, which served for Lent "to hang in the Quere;" and (ii) a pair of green sarcenet, painted with gold flowers and the Holy Name crowned, which also served "to hang in the quere."

viii. Under the title of "Hangyngf & Aulter clothis for all aulters" are included what are now usually called frontals and dorsals. In this inventory the frontal is termed "a nether part" and the dorsal "an upper part," and the two together usually form a "hanging." The term "frontell" is here applied to the narrow strip of stuff sewn as an apparel on to the front edge of one of the linen altar cloths, and sometimes called a frontlet. Nearly every one of those enumerated had an altar cloth "sowid un to it." Many of the "nether parts" also had linen altar cloths sewn on to them, no doubt to keep them in place. One hanging belonging to the high altar also included the usual set of "iij towellis, ij playn & one diapare," which are expressly described as "longyng only to the same and not to the napry."

The list enumerates about forty items. From them we learn that each of the five altars had a complete hanging of green sarcenet "w^t ymages & Jhc & sterres gilte"; another of stained work with vines and clusters "and other ymagery," for Lent; a third of black; and a fourth of white. The black hanging for the high altar was of bawdkyn stained with leopards' heads of gold, and had a "frontell" of black velvet with a silk fringe, "& ij grene freng^e runnyng thorow ought the frontell." The other four altars had between them six cloths of black sarcenet and two of linen cloth "steyned blake." The white hanging for the high altar was of bawdkyn, worked with gold roses and green leaves in the upper part, and gold lions in the nether part; it had also a frontal of the same material. Those for the other altars were embroidered, that for Our Lady's altar with images of St. Anne and Our Lady, that for St. Nicholas' altar with the Ascension, that for St. John's altar with the Salutation of Our Lady, and that for the Trinity altar with the Coronation of Our Lady above and St. Anne below. The high altar seems to have had a second white hanging, made up of an upper part of sarcenet with the Five Joys of Our Lady and other imagery "steyned in gold," and a nether part of stained cloth with yellow flowers. It was also furnished with four other nether parts: one of blue tissue fringed with white, green, red, and yellow silk; a second of stained cloth with gold ships and ostrich feathers, one white, the other green, with a velvet frontal to match; a third of black bawdkyn, powdered with gold and blue lions and squirrels, with a frontal to the same; and a fourth of red bawdkyn, powdered with gold, with a frontal with flowers of broidery work. As the two last were kept in the upper vestry they were probably those most used; the red for ordinary occasions, the black for requiem masses.

The altar of Our Lady also possessed: (i.) a cloth steyned with the Five Joys; (ii.) a nether cloth of green bawdkyn, with a frontal; (iii.) a frontal of coarse cloth of tissue, fringed with red, green, and white silk; (iv.) a stained cloth of red, with the Coronation of Our Lady, for the upper part; and (v.) a stained cloth of blue with divers saints worked in gold, and in the frontal the twelve Apostles' heads.

The altar of St. Nicholas had also (i.) a nether cloth and frontal of green bawdkyn with white lilies, and another frontal of the same work; and (ii.) a white stained cloth with the Coronation of Our Lady and "other seyntt^e marters."

St. John's altar likewise had (i.) a nether cloth of green bawdkyn with images of St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist, and (ii.) a hanging for above and beneath of green sarcenet with roses; and (iii.) a frontal of blue velvet.

The Trinity altar had (i.) a stained hanging of red flourished with white flowers, with a figure of Our Lord in the upper part, and Our Lady below; also (ii.) a stained cloth with the Trinity in the midst.

The preponderance of green, white, and black in these altar hangings is noteworthy, as is the apparent scarcity of red and blue, and absence of yellow. The colour of the Lent stuff is not stated; it was probably, as usual, white, like the vestments.

The list also includes several other items, such as (i.) two stained little cloths with lambs, for the shrine on Palm Sunday; (ii.) a cloth of green and blue with birds and lions to lay before the high altar; and (iii.) a set of stained cloths for the Easter Sepulchre, of divers colours and imagery with crowns of gold. Only one item has been added, "a vernacle off [*word omitted*] made in lawnde & y^e passion off Cryst w^t petyr & powle."

ix. Mitres and crosiers, when found in the inventory

of a parish church, may usually be regarded as part of the ornaments of the boy-bishop. The list under notice contains four mitres. The first of them was of unusually rich work, besides being garnished with jewels and enamels, and it is difficult to believe that it was used in a mere play. The others were of simpler character, and those of painted leather and silvered parchment were probably used in rehearsals. The crosier head of gilt timber, with an image of St. Nicholas, was certainly for the boy-bishop; to it belonged a towel of diaper $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards in length, which is somewhat excessive if it were to hang on the staff.

x. The banners enumerated under this section are nine in number. The first was evidently the most noteworthy, and was painted with incidents from the life of St. Peter, and with the figures of the donor and his wife. The second bore a similar series of pictures of the life of St. John Baptist and figures of St. Margaret, St. James, and St. William of Norwich "in pendans peynted." The third bore an image of St. Anne, and the fourth the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The next two were cross banners for hanging to the cross in processions at Easter: one was of green sarcenet, with a gilt figure of St. Peter enthroned; the other was of the same material, and emblazoned with the arms of England. The two old white banners that follow were evidently a pair, the one having the image of St. Peter, the other that of St. Paul. The last item is an interesting one: two banner clothes (probably white) painted with drops of blood, the Passion of Christ's arms, and green wreaths, which served for Passion Sunday, etc. For use with the banners were five staves: two of green, one of red, and two other white, probably for the banners last described, with red drops and silvered spear heads.

xi. The items headed "Nappery" occupy five pages of the inventory, but the original list covers three pages only.

The earlier items are either "towellys" or "aulter cloiths." The length of many of the former, $7\frac{1}{2}$, $8\frac{1}{2}$, 9, $10\frac{1}{4}$, and 13 yards, indicates that they were houselling cloths held in front of the communicants when receiving the Sacrament; their material was usually diaper, and their width three-quarters of a yard. So many of them had "an oliot hole in the one end" as to suggest that one extremity was fixed to a hook, and the other held by the clerk. The smaller "towellys" were probably altar cloths.

The altar cloths so specified varied in length from 2 to 6 yards, and their usual width was $1\frac{1}{4}$ yard. The ten largest have an average length of five yards. Nearly all were of diaper, but a few are described as "playn." In some cases an altar cloth bore a special mark, such as "a Peter Key," "an hedles crose of blew," or "a key of wight thred." A few of the towels also bore marks, such as "a triangle of rede silke," or "a blew thred sown in a corner." Two of the towels were assigned to special uses. One, of "Rayns," $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and nearly half a yard broad, was garnished about the edges with red silk and green, and at each end with birds of red silk and gold; "it servith to bere the oil and creme at ester." The other was a plain "towelly" of about the same size as the other, and "sent peter is cheyn is wrapid in it." St. Peter's chain, though not described in the inventory, was probably one of the relics, and the additions to the plate include a silver-gilt pix for it. One other article other than a towelly or altar cloth is included among the napery, "a kercher cloith of fyn holon of as long as broad a yard and di quarter to see it shuld be a corporas."

The additions to the original list include towels and altar cloths, of like sizes and materials to the other lot. One of the towels is described as given "ffor a howselyn Towell w^t a Tolye," and another, which was five yards long, as "longyng to J^hc. Messe." The list also includes a napkin of diaper a yard long "ffor a wypyng towell to the hey Awter," and four other "wypyng Napkyns to leye oñ the awters."

At the end is a statement of the total number of altar cloths and towels, and whether diaper or plain, amounting to "liij pesys" in all. Three more diaper altar cloths, however, seem to have been added since this table was made.

xii. The original inventory concludes with a miscellaneous lot of ornaments grouped under the head of "Lumber tymber." The list is a curious one:

1. Six white paxes with green crosses painted, serving for Lent;
2. A trestle with steps;
3. Seven small candlesticks silvered and gilt for Christmas Day;
4. Six wicker-work cases for chalices;
5. A thing called Judas with prickets for candles upon "tenable days";
6. A green cross with the four Evangelists gilt for Easter morrow in the Resurrection;
7. A frame like a shrine for the Sacrament on Palm Sunday;
8. Three palms for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon on Palm Sunday; and
9. Two superaltars of marble framed in timber, the one whole, the other broken.

The use of painted wooden paxes during Lent, instead of more ornate ones of metal, is interesting, and is quite in accord with the white, *i.e.* uncoloured, vestments and altar furniture so universal in this country at that season.

The trestle with steps was no doubt useful in cleaning or decking the church or attending to ornaments that could not be reached from the floor.

The little candlesticks used on Christmas Day were probably for illuminating some part of the church.

Cases of wicker or leather were very usual to keep pieces of plate in.

The Judas was the triangular candlestick used to put candles on during the office of *Tenebræ* on the "tenable days," that is, the last three days of Holy Week.

The green cross with the Evangelists was apparently that put away with the pix in the Sepulchre until Easter morning.

The shrine for the Sacrament on Palm Sunday was borne in the procession, first to the churchyard cross, and thence back to the church, to typify our Lord's entry into Jerusalem.

The palms for the three ministers to bear in the Palm Sunday procession can hardly have been dried palm branches; for the use of such things in preference to the earliest green stuff would have been as absurd then as now. They were more likely carved wooden things, perhaps gilt.¹

Superaltars, or small portable altar slabs, were often used on altars that had not been consecrated; they were also used for masses in oratories in private houses. Being themselves hallowed, they were often given to or treasured up in churches, and sometimes regarded as relics.

It will be noticed that the inventory makes no mention of any latten or brass ornaments. Perhaps the list of these began the inventory, and has been lost with the heading, but in that case it is odd that no casual reference to them should occur elsewhere in the list.

¹ I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P.S.A., for this suggestion.

We have now to consider the special feature of the inventory under notice: the information it gives as to the arrangement of the vestries, and how the different sets of ornaments were disposed in them.

It has already been noted that the vestries are contained in a three-storied building attached to and beyond the east end of the chancel. This building is of good construction and measures about 34 feet externally from north to south, with a projection of some 15 feet.

The lowest story is entered from the churchyard by a doorway in the north end, and was probably built as a tool-house for the sexton. It has a plain four-centred barrel vault, and a series of square-headed lights on the east; a modern opening has been forced through the south wall.

The middle story is lighted by three two-light square-headed windows, also in the east wall, all heavily grated.

Above them are the windows of the uppermost story, a range of five two-light uncusped openings, deeply recessed, rising from an embattled string. Between and beyond these are six semi-circular pilasters, carrying a roll moulding over the windows, with an embattled cresting above.

The north end is faced with ashlar, but the south end is of rubble only, and from the way in which it projects beyond the line of the chancel wall, the whole structure seems to have been planned to extend further in the same direction, perhaps as lodgings for the vicar or chantry priests.

The upper vestry is on the same level as the presbytery floor, which is itself nine steps above the nave, and is entered by two doorways, right and left of the high altar. Both the doors are old, but have been "restored"; the southern retains its old handle and lock. The vestry is 29 feet 4 inches in length, and 12 feet 9 inches in breadth, but as will be seen from the accompanying diagram its

otherwise simple plan has been interfered with, firstly by the cutting off of its western angles by stair turrets to the roofs, and secondly by the building being set a little to the south of the axis of the church. A deep recess has consequently been formed in the south end. The south wall of this recess contains, towards the east, a canopied drain. West of this is a pointed niche, 27 inches above the floor, $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet high, and about 18 inches square in plan, with an ascending flue or chimney in the head. It was no doubt used for lighting charcoal for the censers and for baking the obleys or wafers used at mass. The roof of the vestry, which is original, is nearly flat, with four-centered rafters. There are no marks of any fittings, and the walls are covered with modern plaster. The tables and other furniture are all of recent date. The manuscripts, etc. now in the table cases have been acquired since the making of the inventory. In the north end of the vestry is a modern staircase, about 4 feet wide, leading down to the lower chamber.

Before describing the "lower," "nether," or "low vestre," as it is severally called, it will be more convenient to discuss the old arrangements of the "upper" or "high vestre."

The references to its contents in the inventory are as follows:

- (i.) "on the lift hand of the dore at the first entre (= entering) one the nether shelve "were five antiphoners and two legends, lettered A to G. A foot note adds that all these books lie "uppon the lowest shelve."
- (ii.) "uppon the over shelve" were ten other books lettered H to R; and
- (iii.) "uppon a litell shelve betweñ the overmoñ shelve & the nether more shelve," still "in the high vestre on the lefte hande of the entre" stood twelve more books lettered A to M.

These entries clearly refer to a book case or press placed immediately to the left or north of the doorway, against the west wall.

It will be noticed that only one door is mentioned, and as may be seen from the plan, this must have been the southernmost, since the turret door to the north of the other leaves no room for a press there.

The press was raised a little from the floor, for a mass-book belonging to Cosyn's chantry at Our Lady's altar is described as "lyyng in the cofer longyng to the chawntre wich is the farthest under the antiphonares." What other coffers lay under the book case does not appear.

The next piece of furniture mentioned is an aumbry or press that stood in the recess at the south end, and against its west wall. The entries referring to it are as follows:

- (iv.) four palls are described as "lyyng in the lowest awmbery next the chymney," and "in the upper vestre." A fifth pall, added later, was also "lying in the lowest almary next the schemny."
- (v.) "in the ambre on the right hand of the entre bi the chymney" were four grayles.
- (vi.) "in the third Awmbery by the greilles" lay nine proccessionars lettered A to I.
- (vii.) "in the upper Awmbry next un to the chymney in upper vestre" lay the silver censer that was "daily occupied," with its ship, a silver plated cross, and four chalices and patens. There also lay "in the awnbry in the high vestre. w^t chales" six corporases and their cases "for every day."

This press or set of aumbries evidently contained four lockers, one above the other. In the uppermost was the plate, in the second were the grails, in the third the proccessionars, and in the fourth or lowest the palls.

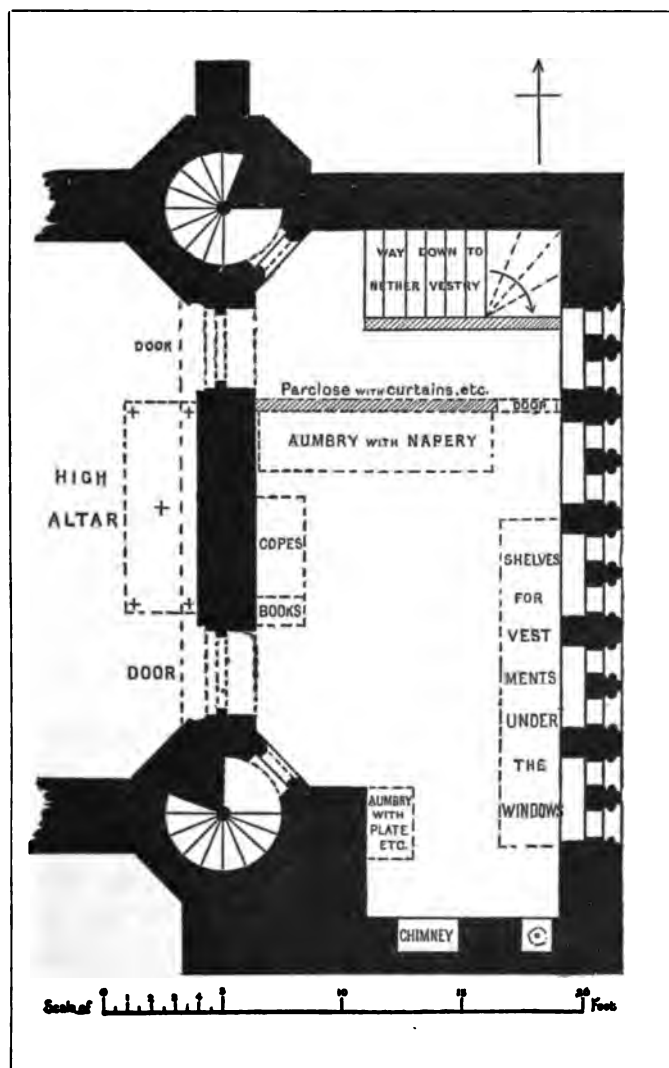


Diagram showing the plan and suggested ancient arrangements of the Upper or High Vestry.

We next find a great carpet to lay before the high altar, and sundry other carpets described as

(viii.) "hangyng uppon the parclose in the upper vestre." There is nothing now to show where this parclose stood, but looking to the fact that only the south doorway is mentioned, it is very likely that the other served merely as the way to the nether vestry, and that the north end of the upper chamber was partitioned off as a passage or lobby. The parclose in that case might well have crossed the vestry from east to west on the line between the first and second windows, reckoning from the north. Since the carpets hung upon it, it did not extend as high as the roof.¹

The next piece of furniture is only indicated in the note appended to the first list of copes, of which there were five:

(ix.) "All these hange uppon the perk^e in the upper vestre." These "perkes" clearly formed part of a cope rack, and its most likely place was against the west wall, between the book press and the parclose. Confirmatory evidence of this will be forthcoming when we consider the furniture of the nether vestry.

Two other entries in the inventory shew that another aumbry stood in the high vestry:

(x.) "lyyng in the awmbry w^t napre in the upper vestre" were two pillows; it is also said of

(xi.) seven towellys and five altar cloths forming part of the "Nappery": "All thes lye in the awmbry of napry in the upper vestre."

This aumbry was clearly distinct from the one noticed above, for a later note, added in the margin against two of the "towellys," states that they were lying in the aumbry by the chimney.

¹ Mr. Micklethwaite thinks there was a door through it to facilitate access from one vestry to the other. If so, it was probably where suggested in the plan.

There is now standing in the nether vestry an interesting piece of medieval furniture, which may have served as the "awmbry of napry." It is made of oak, and measures 9 feet 8½ inches in length and 2 feet 6 inches in depth and 2 feet 9 inches in height. It is divided into three compartments, of which the middle has double doors and the end ones single doors. The doors have lost their locks, but retain their iron handles and continuous strap-work hinges. The top is nicely moulded along the edges. The cupboards are sub-divided into two shelves, and there would have been ample room in them for the articles above described.

Since there is no mention of anything in the nether vestry corresponding to this piece of furniture, it is fair to assume that it has been brought down from the upper chamber. Its position there is limited by its length, and it therefore most likely stood against the parclose towards the north. The only alternative place is under the windows, but this place would appear to have been filled by shelving for the vestments.

The list of vestments begins with seven suits, each of a different colour, and headed by a blue suit "for the sondays." These are followed by eight single vestments, including a green one "for every day." They were, therefore, what were in common use. The suits are described as lying

(xii.) "uppon the shelve w^t the script^r *Vestymen^tl^e* complet in the upper vestre"; and the others

(xiii.) "liyth uppon the shelve in the script^r of *single of westment^e* in the upper vestre."

By a simple process of exhaustion it will be seen from the plan that two such shelves would be most conveniently placed beneath the windows, and as a similar arrangement existed below, it most likely did here also.

By the disposal of the several pieces of furniture in the way that has been suggested, the floor space was encroached upon as little as possible, leaving ample room for the ministers to vest themselves, and the clerk and sexton to attend to their duties.

The lower or nether vestry is reached, as already stated, by a wooden stair leading down from the upper chamber. The door at the foot of the stair is ancient, and retains its handle and one of its old locks.

The nether vestry is of similar plan to the upper, but the western angles are further encroached upon. It is 8 feet 3 inches in height to its flat rafter roof, which of course carries the floor of the chamber above. The walls have been newly plastered, and with one exception, there are no remains or traces of any ancient fittings. For the notices and positions of these we must refer to the inventory.

The greatest amount of space in the nether vestry must have been taken up by the copes that were kept there. In the original list these numbered thirty-one, and were hung on a series of twenty "perkes" or "staifes," arranged in a press, with a "selyng" over them. This press stood on the west side, where an interesting fragment remains to indicate its position and extent. Close up to the ceiling and against the wall is a wooden beam 14 feet long, 11 inches deep, and 9 inches wide, with a number of circular holes, each $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, in its under side. The holes are eighteen in number, and cover a distance of 7 feet 9 inches from centre to centre. They are arranged in two series: a first of seven holes, 8 inches apart from centre to centre; and a second of eleven holes, bored at intervals of 4 inches only. Beyond the latter is a length of 5 feet of beam without holes. These holes were evidently for the insertion of a series of vertical timbers, to which were attached projecting arms, "perkes," or

"staifes," to hang the copes on.¹ They, no doubt, fitted into a corresponding series of holes in a sill fixed to the floor, and were capable of being turned in a small arc to enable the copes to be easily removed or replaced. Since the inventory mentions twenty staves, and there are only eighteen holes, there must have been another perch at either end attached to the uprights that carried the "selyng" over the copes. This "selyng" was upheld by posts, and not fixed to the roof, where there are no marks of it, for the palms entered among the lumber timber are described as "lyyng uppon the selyng over the copis in the low vestre." The wider series of perches held but one cope apiece of the richer sort, and each covered with a sheet; the narrower series carried one, two, three, and even four copes apiece, all unsheeted.

Under the copes were kept the frame for the canopy, the four staves by which it was borne, and the five banner staves.

The little copes worn by the boy bishop and his mates were not hung with the others, but lay, together with their vestments, upon "the over shelve next the wyndows."

Upon the "ij shelve bi the wyndows" were stowed the white vestments for Lent and the sepulchre cloths, and upon "the iij shelve" lay the single vestments belonging to the several altars.

Three other suits of vestments are described as lying upon "the tabull by the wyndows in the lower vestre."

These shelves and the table probably formed one piece of furniture, standing in front of and extending right and left of the middle window.

The remainder of the vestments are described as "uppon the lower pres behynd the dore on the right hand

¹ The vertical timbers of the cope press in the west end of the vestry of the abbey church of Westminster remained until a few years ago.

at the first entre," and "uppon the myddell prese," and one of the better hangings lay "uppon the uppermor shelve behynd the dore."

Since the door opens to the right, anything behind it at the first entering must have stood in the north end of the vestry, and here, partly under the stairs, was the vestment press. On its third or uppermore shelf were also kept the canopy and the banner cloths, and over it the Easter morning cross and the frame of the Palm Sunday shrine. A stained cloth belonging to Our Lady's altar is described as lying "wrappid uppon a staife on the third prese be hynde the dore."

After the copes and vestments, room had to be found for the various hangings and altar cloths. Some lay "uppon the never [= nether] shelve in the further end . . . next the chest w^t J"; others were upon "the uppermore shelve in the fu^r end . . . on the side where the copis hange"; a third series "uppon the third shelve in the vestre beneath next the copis"; and a fourth group "uppon the ij shelve next the copis."

These four shelves probably formed one press, which stood immediately to the south of the copes, against the oblique length of wall surface there.

Under one or other of the sets of shelves were stowed the Judas, the chalice cases, and other gear, and "bi the uppermore shelf" of one of the presses, the Lenten paxes did "hange on a streyng."

The recess at the south end of the vestry contained the great jewel chest, described as the "chest w^t J," the initial of *Jocalia* or *Jewels*. Its place is fixed by a note appended to the description of the great cross: "and this crose stondyth in a box made ther for in the further corner in the lowe vestre bi the Juell cheste." The cross-staff stood "in the corner next the crose."

The "chest w^t J" contained one each of the parcel-gilt

candlesticks, cruets, and basons, two other basons, three pixes, two censers and a ship, a holywater stick, a crismatory, and eight chalices and patens. It was also sufficiently large to hold a number of smaller boxes containing special ornaments. Thus the two paxes lay "in the boxe of p. [for *Pax*] w^t in the chest of J." The image of Our Saviour was kept "in the boxe w^t S. [for *Saviour*] w^t in the chest of J." John of Shottesham's "pixe" or monstrance lay "in the boxe of M. [for *Monstrance*] w^t in the chest of J," and the pixes with the relics "in a grene cofer w^t R. [for *Relics*] w^t in the cheste of J."

There seems to have been another chest "in the nether vestre w^t the letter P written upon hym" containing Sir Thomas Spicer's massbook and another, and the various "qwyshyns & pillows," and "in a boxe framed for it upon the chest w^t P." was the second best cross. The initial perhaps stands for *Pillows*.

A third chest, described as a "litell cofer w^t C," contained the corporases and their cases, and a fourth "the litell cofer w^t x." contained the "curtens and clothis of silke" for the pix "wrapped in a napkyn."

A fifth chest "w^t N." contained the greater part of the "Nappery," whence its distinguishing letter, and also the four mitres and crosier head for the boy bishop.

To recapitulate, the low vestry contained the following pieces of furniture:

- (i.) the perches for the copes, against the west wall.
- (ii.) the table and shelves for vestments, under the windows.
- (iii.) the vestment press, at the north end behind the door.
- (iv.) the press for altar cloths, to the left of the copes.
- (v.) the cross box, and the chests severally marked J, P, C, X, & N, in the recess at the south end.

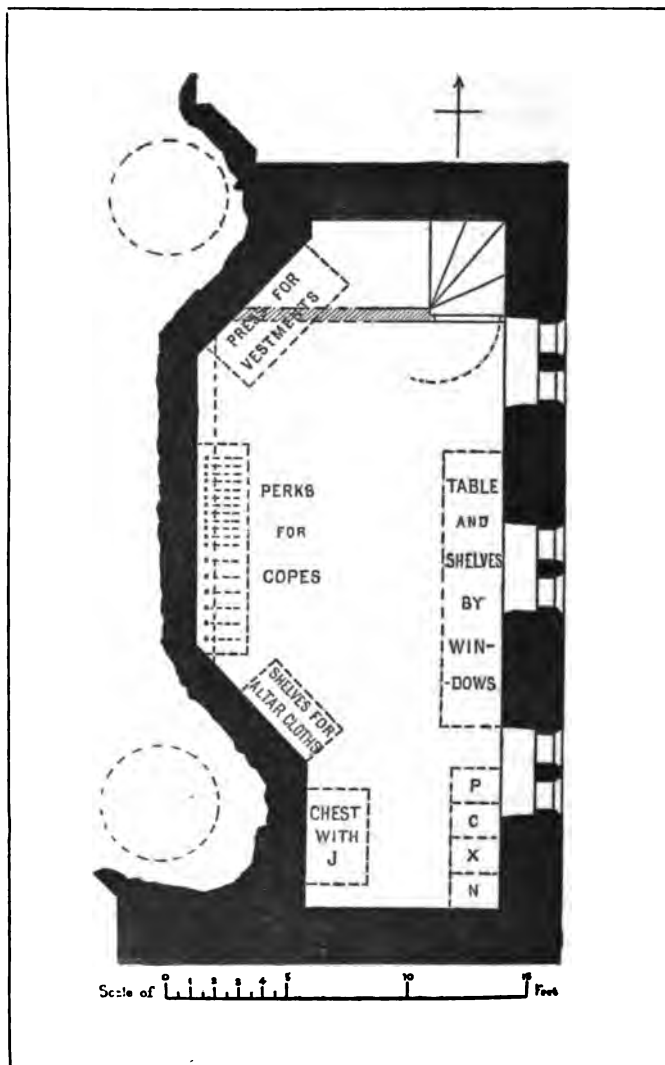


Diagram showing the plan and suggested ancient arrangements of the Nether or Lower Vestry.

The accompanying diagram shows the possible arrangement of the lower vestry.

The keeping in it of so many valuables explains the heavy grating of the vestry windows.

The inventory also mentions four other chests which were not in the vestry. One stood "on the right hand in the chappell of o^r lady w^t this lettre M." [for *Mary*], and contained two massbooks. The other three were severally in the chapels of St. John, the Trinity, and St. Nicholas, and were marked accordingly "J," "T," and "N." As each contained only the massbooks used in the chapel, they could not have been of any size.

The text of the inventory is as follows :

Fol. 2a]. Antiphenares w^t dyv'se other bo[kes].
 ffirst in the place accustomed on the lift hand of the
 dore at the first entre · one the nether shelve
 one Antiphenar⁹ of the large volume garnished
 w^t blew silk and bottons of the same whos iij } 21
 leife begynnyth (*Dominica prima adventus*) of
 s' Robt Cutler ats Sexten¹ bryngyng in to the
 church, &c. and of s' Willm bilhm is gifte.²
 Itm. an Antipenar⁹ of a lese volume then the first
 one the same shelve whose iij leife begynnyth } 22
 (*dominica prima adventus*) garnished w^t blew
 silke & bottons of the same & w^t claspis of latten.

¹ Sir Robert Cutler alias Sexton was appointed chantry priest of Cosyn's chantry in 1490.—Blomefield, iv. 202.

² Sir William Bilham or Byllern was appointed chantry priest at the altar of Our Lady in 1487 (Blomefield, iv. 205). His successor was appointed in 1513. Blomefield says (p. 214): "1498. Will. Byllern, priest, gave a whole set of vestments of blue velvet to the two copes, of 12*l.* value, and his corporas case of blue cloth of gold tissue, with the *corporas* therein ready hallowed, and an *antiphonary* of 12 marks, and many other books, and a cross."

- Itm. an Antiphenar⁹ of the same volume whos iij leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* w^t claspis of latten. } **C**
- Itm. an other antiphenar of the same volume whos ij leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* w^t the salutacion of o^r lady in the first letter w^t claspis of silver. } **D**
- Itm. an other antiphenar⁹ of a lesser volume whos begynnyng is *Dominica prima adventus* w^t the salutacion ut sup^a in the iij leife // w^t claspis of silver. } **E**
- Itm. a legient of the last antiphenar⁹ is volume whos ij leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* w^t a smalle . D. of beise¹ claspid w^t latten. } **F**
- Itm. a legient of a lesser volume sumewhat whos iij leife begynnyth *In festo sancti andree apostoli* claspid w^t latten. } **G**
- [Added in a second hand: It. a antiphenar of conyers yift].

All thes bokk⁹ leith uppon the lowest shelve
in the vestre.

Fol. 2b].

- Itm. a legient of the meane volume whos iij leife begynnyth *visio Isaie*. } **H**
- Itm. an antiphenar⁹ of the smale volume wos ij leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* . old. } **I**
- Itm. an Antiphenar⁹ old. of the smale volume whos ij leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus*. } **K**
- Itm. a boke for the Rectores chori whos ij leife begynnyth *universi*. } **L**
- Itm. a Mase boke of the gift of Isabell Atkyns whos iiij leife begynnyth w^t the kalender claspis of latten & of the smale volume. } **M**

¹ Beise = bice, a blue pigment obtained from smalt.

- Itm. an old antiphenar⁹ of the leist volume whos ij }
 leife begynnyth *benedictus Dominus Deus* clasped } N
 w^t latten.
- Itm. a boke for the orgons of the meduff volume whos }
 iiij leife begynnyth *Ecce dies veniunt*, claspit w^t } ⑤
 latten.
- Itm. a book called vitetory bokke w^t the Impnes. }
 clasped w^t latten & of the mean volume } ③
- Itm. a booke called the Ordynale · whos ij leife }
 begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* of the } ②
 mean volume/claspit w^t latten.
- Itm. a priksong booke whos iiij leife begynnyth *Salve* }
festa dies claspit w^t latten. } ①

All thes liyth uppon the ov⁹ shelve in the high
 vestre.

Fol. 3a].

- Itm. a litle graiff whos first leife begynnyth w^t the }
 kalender & 3vyth for Childern. } ①
- Itm. a pistill bokke whos secunde leife begynnyth }
fratres scientes. } ②
- Itm. a gospelary · whos iiij leife begynnyth *In illo* }
tempore Cum appropinquasset · Jhc · claspit w^t } ③
 latten.
- Itm. a Manuell whos iiij leife begynnyth *omnibus* }
Dominicis diebus per annum claspit w^t latten. } ④
- Itm. a Collector whos ij leife begynnyth *Dominica* }
prima adventus claspit w^t latten. } ⑤
- aret. Itm. an old psalter w^t other thyng^l · whos } [⑥ struck
 first leife begynnyth *Incipit historia*. } out] ⑥
- Itm. an old salter whos first leife begynnyth w^t } [⑦ struck
 the office of the sexten. } out] ⑦
- aret in Itm. an old psalter whos j leife begynneth *Dormiente* }
 n, but *cum patribus suis* claspit w^t latten. } ⑧
 out].

- Itm. an old psalter · whos ij leife begynnyth w^t a }
kalender claspid w^t latten. } **I**
- Caret.* Itm. an old portose sore worne clasped w^t latten. **II**
- Caret.* Item. an old mase booke whos ij leife begynnyth }
ad te levavi claspid w^t latten. } **II**
- Itm. a psalter whos [iij *altered into*] ij leife begynnyth }
psalterium ecclesie sancti petri ex dono Magistri } **III**
*Middeltan.*¹ s' Thomas love² have it.

All thes book^e · stonde uppon a litell shelve betweñ
the overmoñ shelve & the nether more shelve in
the high vestre on the lifte hand of the entre.

Fol. 3b].

Grailles.

- Itm. a graiff of the large volume of the gifte of Dame
Katerine ffelbrige³ in whos ij leife stondeth her helme
w^t her ames [*sic*].
- Itm. an other of the same volume & same facione claspid
w^t latten.
- Itm. a graiff of a lese volume of the gifte of John
Latymer⁴ whos first leife begynnyth *m^a quod anno*
domini m ccc^o octogesimo octavo.
- Itm. an other of the same mañ is gifte John Latimer of the
same volume whos first leife *anno domini millesimo*
ccc nonagesimo primo clasped w^t latten.

All thes fowr book^e liyth in the ambre on the right
hand of the entre bi the chymney.

¹ Roger de Middleton was rector from 1361 to 1374.

² Sir Thomas Love was parish chaplain, or *clericus parochialis*, as he was described on his epitaph in the Chapel in the Fields, where he was buried in 1513.—Blomefield, iv. 180, 186.

³ Probably Katherine (Mallory), widow of Sir Simon Felbrigge, K.G., who died in 1443. Dame Margery died in 1459.

⁴ John Latimer was bailiff of Norwich in 1382 and 1388, and burgoes in Parliament anno 46 Edw. III. and 4 Ric. II.

Fol. 4a]. Pcessionares.

- Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of John Collewenny
whos iij leife begynnyth w^t a lettre of gold } a
omnibus dominicis per annum & claspid w^t latten.
- Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of s' Willm Brewen¹
prest whos iij leife begynnyth *Asperges me.* } b
- Itm. a pcessionary whos Rubrish except the first leife
is writen w^t blake ynke. } c
- Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of Willm Yxworth²
whos [fir struck out] ij leife begynnyth *Ordo ad*
processionem hoc modo fiat w^t claspis latten. } d
- Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of s' Willm Brewen³ pst
whos iij leife begynnyth w^t a lett^r of gold } e
omnibus dominicis per annum.
- Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of Willm Gilberd
Draper³ whos iij leife begynnyth w^t a lett^r in } ff
beise *omnibus dominicis per annum.*
- Itm. a pcessionary whos iij leife begynnith *in festo*
visitacionis beate marie w^t a litle lettre. } g
- Itm. a pcessionary whos iij leife begynnith w^t a lettre
in beise *omnibus dominicis per annum post*
primam claspid w^t latten. } h
- Itm. an old litell pcessionary in whos ij leife almost
blynd begynnyth *In omnibus processionibus*
ad vespas. } i

All thes books leith in the third Awmbery
by the greilles.

¹ Sir William Brewen was chantry priest at Our Lady's altar, and died in 1481.

² William Yxworth died in 1508, and was buried in the chancel.

³ William Gilberd, citizen and draper, died before 1497, in which year his widow Alice was buried beside him in St. Andrew's church.

Fol 4b].

Mase bokk^{er}.

- Itm. a mase booke lymmed evy letter w^t gold whos
 iiij leife begynnyth w^t the kalendar · & of
 the gifte of s' Tho^ms Spicer p^{re}st lyyng in
 the chest in the nether vestre w^t the letter ~~þ~~ in the
 written uppon hym · and belongith to the high nether
 aulter · w^t claspis and bottons of silv^r & gilt. vestre.
- Itm. a mase boke to the same aulter & in the
 same cheste lyyng whos iiij leife begynnyth
 w^t a kalendre & the lett^re beise and claspis
 of silv^r & gilt.
- Itm. a mase bokke lyyng as is aforesaid a monge
 the Antiphenars · for evy day · w^t the lett^re · ~~þ~~
 uppon hym & longith to the high aultre.
- Itm. an other old mase bokke to the high aultre
 beyng ut supra a monge the book^{er} of the In the
 middell shelve w^t the lett^re · ~~þ~~ · upper
 vestre.
- Itm. a mase booke longyng to John Cosyns
 Chawntre songe at the Aultre of o^r lady whos
 iiij leife begynnyth w^t a kalender · lyyng in the
 cofer longyng to the chawntre wich is the
 farthest under the antiphonares.
- Itm. a mase booke of the gift of s' Richard biston
 whos iiij leife begynnyth *mensis Januarius*
 longyng to the aultre of o^r lady lyyng in the
 cheist on the right hand in the chappell of o^r
 lady w^t this lett^re [~~þ~~ struck through] ~~þ~~.
- Itm. an old mase booke of the gifte of Thomas
 Jury longyng to o^r lady aultre & lyyng in the
 same cheste.

Fol. 5a].

Itm. a mase booke of a gret volume of the gifte of Robert Toppis¹ Alderman whos first leife begynnyth w^t a kalender & belongeth to sent John is aultre · lyyng in the chest ther in chappell w^t · 3 ·

Itm. a mase bokke belongyng to the Trinite aultre whos first leife begynnyth w^t the kalendre & lyyth in the chest with · Ƨ · in the chappell of the Trinite [w^t · Ƨ · *written over and then struck out*] and of Robert Toppis.

Itm. a mase booke belongyng to sent Nicholas aultre w^t claspis of silver whos iij leife is *omnibus dominicis per annum* and lyyth in the chest in the [st *struck through*] chappell of sent Nicholas w^t N.

Fol. 5b. *Blank.*

Fol. 6a].

Palles.

Itm. a pale the ground blew silke & powdered w^t golde ymag^e of the salutacion & sent pole² & nycolas lyyng in the lowest [shelve in the *struck through*] awmbery next the chymney.

Itm. an old ragget pale in the same awmbery.

Itm. a pale reed³ & yelow lyned w^t blake bokeram⁴ in the same awmbery.

Itm. a pale of grene w^t lions in gold lyned with Reed lying in the same awmbery

Itm. a pale of blak velvet w^t a crose of cloith of gold powdered with angellis of the geifte of John petwood Alderman lyyng in the [upper · shelve be hynd the dore in the lower vestre *added by same hand*].

¹ Robert Toppis, alderman, died in 1467, and was buried in the chapel of St. John Baptist, to which he gave a great masebook.

² St. Paul.

³ Red.

⁴ Bokeram or buckram : a coarse stuff used for linings.

[*Added, in very bad writing, in a third hand: Itm. a blake palle lynyd w^t bokram and steynynd w^t fflowyrs lying in the lowest almyer next the schemnyl.*]

Fol. 6b]. Carppes Co^vlett^e Qwishyns & banker cloithes w^t other.

Itm. a gret carpet of white grene & Reed colo^rs to ly a fore the high aulter hangyng uppon the pclose in the upper vestre.

Itm. in the same place a co^vlet sore worne of Reed & yelow worsted werpe w^t griffyns & knott^e.

Itm. a worse of the same worke & in the same place.

Itm. a Co^vlet ground blew w^t ok^e & birddis and a script^e lying in the same place.

Itm. an old ragget Reed cloith w^t iiij scotchyns w^t myters lying in the same place.

Itm. an olde cloith of blew say.¹

Itm. [an *struck out and*] iiij [*overwritten*] other of blake say.

Itm. iiij quishens of carpet worke of dy^vse work^e in the same place longyng to the presbitery.²

Itm. iiij old qwishons daily lying in the p^sbitery

Itm. a banker cloith of verdo^r grene³ for the forme in the queer hangyng in the said place.

¹ Say was usually a sort of thin serge or woollen cloth, but sometimes the word applied to thin silk.

² Presbitery, probably the sedilia. Cf. the inventory of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 1486: "j cloth of grene bokrame lyned for the presbitery."—*Archæologia*, i. 42. Cf. also the contract for rebuilding Catterick Church, Yorks, in 1412: "And also the forsaide Richard sall make with in the quere a high awter . . . with thre Prismatories covenably made be mason crafte with in the same quere."—James Raine, *Catterick Church in the County of York* (London, 1834), 9.

³ Perhaps a kind of green baize used for hangings.

Itm. a banker¹ for the same forme of blew w^t whight lilles in the said place.

[It. A Cowerlyth off grene & blew w^t berdys & lyons *added in a third hand*].

Fol. 7a]. Qwysyhyns & pillows.

In p^mis a qwishyñ of rede velvet the one side florished w^t flowers & a harte in the myddel of gold & the other side rede satten of the gift }

Itm. an other one of blew sarsnet² powdered w^t tres & flowers of [glo *struck out*] gold of the gift of }

Itm. an other of blew satten powdered w^t lions of gold the one side. the other side blew bokeram. }

Itm. a qwishyn of blake velvet sore worne.

Itm. j of grene sendell³ sore worne

Itm. j of grene sarsnet sore worne

Itm. j of yelow sarsnet sore worne

Itm. j of bawdkyn⁴ sore worne

Itm. ij old pelows of lynen garnishid w^t corse silke.

All thes lye in the chest w^t p. in the lowre vestre.

Fol. 7b]. Pillows.

Itm. j pillow of sangwyn sendell & j pillow of wight cloith garnishid w^t blake silke ly yng in the awmbry w^t napre in the upp vestre.

Fol. 8a]. Coppes.

Itm. a cope the grounde blew w^t flowers whight and powdered w^t lebbardel of gold and the Orferas crose velvet and in cape the crucifixe }

¹ A long cloth to lay on a form or bench.

² Sarsnet or sarcenet : a silk stuff first made by the Saracens.

³ Sendell, sandal, cendal : a silken fabric like sarcenet.

⁴ Bawdkyn, baudkyn : a rich silk stuff woven with gold, originally made at Baldak or Bagdad.

Itm. ij coppis of Reed Silke, the orferas grene baudkyn)
powderd w^t lebbard^e in golde & other flowers.)

Itm. a cope of yelow silke powdered w^t fflowers the)
orferas blew worsted powdered w^t sters of gold.)

Itm. a cope of old blake velvet garded w^t grene frence
of silke the orferas rede satten powderd w^t }
flowers of gold. }

All these hange uppon the perk^e in the upper vestre.

Fol. 8b].

Coppes.

In p^mis uppon the utter most perke in the nether vestre
toward the south hangith a cope of grene cloith of
tissue¹ w^t an orpheras golde brodered werke of the
life of sent Thomas of Canterbury. And in the cape
sent petre garnyshid w^t peryt & of the gifte of
Thomas Mayne. And a sheit to cov^r it w^t all large
side & longe.

Itm. uppon the nexte · an other cope of the cloithe &
worke · excepte the story in the orpheras is postell^e &
pphett^e & in the cape the Trynite not perllid w^t a
shite large & long.

Itm. uppon the iij staife a cope of cloith of tissue of reed
color of the gifte of Robert Osborne whos orpheras is
brodered gold w^t postell^e & pphett^e, and the cape is
the salutacionⁿ/w^t a sheite.

Itm. an other doppon the iiij staife of the same worke cloith
and man is gifte/except in the cape is the Trinite
w^t [ought *struck through*] a sheit.

Itm. uppon the v staife a cope of whight damaske² w^t m[̄]
& A of golde cronid³ w^t orpheras brodered of postell^e

¹ Tissue: any woven stuff, but usually applied to cloth of gold or silver.

² Damask: a figured silk fabric perfected at Damascus.

³ Croned = crowned.

& virgyn℥ · and in the cape sent Anne · of the gifte of
[w^t a shete *added in a sixth hand*].

Itm. uppon the vj staife an other cope of wight Damaske
w^t 3℥ & 3℥ croned of gold the orpheras brodered of
[go *struck out*] postell℥ & virgyns & in the cape sent
Anne of the gift of [w^t a shete *added in a sixth
hand*].

Fol. 9a].

Copis.

Itm. uppon the vij staife a cope of blew velvet branched
& powdered w^t fflowrs of gold w^t an orpheras
brodered of postell℥ and virgyns & in the cape the
Trinite of the gift of [w^t a shete *added in a sixth
hand*].¹

Itm. a cope of the same colo^r cloith & worke uppon the
viij staife whos orpheras is dyv^{se} marters and in the
cape sent Kateryn/of the gift of [w^t a shete *added in
a sixth hand*].¹

Itm. uppon the [viij *struck out*] ix staife a cope of rede
damaske powdered w^t archangell℥ of gold and 3℥ in
picto^r & wrytyng in the mydd℥ · the orpheras brodered
of the passion. And in the cape the transfigracion · of
the gifte of

Itm. uppon the x staife · a cope of blew velvet florishid w^t
archangell℥ of gold · the orpheras rede velvet garnyshid
w^t marters of gold · and the cape written w^t letters
made w^t perle *domine pete Iudicium de tua misericordia/*
of the gifte of

Itm. uppon the xj staife a cope of dune velvet w^t orpheras
rede velvet garnyshid w^t flowers brodered of luk℥
golde² · of the gife [*sic*] of

¹ These two copes were probably those to which Sir William Bilham gave
a suit of vestments.

² Probably gold thread from Lucca.

Itm. uppon the xij staife a cope of rede velvet & wight satten paned¹ florishid w^t flowers in maner of rynnnyng wyne² except the orpheras & the myde panne [w^t *struck out*] wich is · rede · velvet & garnyshid w^t dolphyns of gold. of the gifte of

Fol. 9b].

Copis.

Itm. uppoñ the xiiij staife · a cope of grene bawdkyn powdered w^t pecokel³ of golde the orpheras of broderie · w^t postell³ & virgyns/and in the cape the coronation of o^r lady · of the gifte of

Itm. upoñ the xiiij staife · ij coppes of grene satten the orpheras reed satten & floryshid w^t fflowers of broderie, lukis gold · w^t a pellicane in the cape · and of the gifte of

Itm. uppoñ the xv staife ij coppis of wight bawdkyn powdered w^t lyons of golde & reed flowes [*sic*] and the orpheras red bawdkyn · of the gifte of

Itm. uppoñ the xvj staife ij copis of whight bawdkyn powdered w^t Egles of gold · And the orpheras blew bawdkyn powdered w^t egles of gold And of the gifte of. [Also ij Copys off busteny³ whyte powderyd w^t rosys & fflowers & y^e orpheras Red Saten *added in a sixth hand*].

Itm. uppoñ the xvij staife ij copes of wight diap^r branchid/ florished w^t fflowers brodered · And the orpheras reed satten florishid w^t blew colymbyns and in the cape an *ff* in sone bemes of gold & ij letters *3* & *2* · of the gifte of

Itm. uppon the same xvij staife · ij copis of wight busteny · florished · w^t flowers brodered · And the orpheras reed

¹ Paned : arranged in panes or stripes.

² A running or trailing vine.

³ Busteny, bustian : perhaps a cotton fabric of foreign manufacture.

sendell · the one florished w^t flowers & the other w^t ☿
And of the gifte of

[Itm. ij Copys off velvett powdered w^t starres off goold &
y^e orpheras off brotherly wark · & in y^e oñ cape iij
kyng^e off coleyn & in y^e other cape thassencioñ *added
in a sixth hand.*]

Fol. 10a].

Copis.

Itm. uppon the xviiij staife a cope of grene bawdkyn
powdered w^t lions of gold w^t an orpheras of wight
florishid w^t flowes [*sic*] and spangill^e of latten And of
the gifte of

Itm. uppon the same xvij [*sic*] staife a cope of sanguyne
worsted w^t orpheras of grene wursted flower'd w^t
flowers brodered · and in the cape sent pole of the
gifte of

Itm. uppon the same xviiij staife ij · copis sore worne of
reed bawdkyn powdered w^t smale egles of gold · the
orpheras grene velvet florishid w^t ymagery · & in the
cape the crucifixe.

Itm. uppon the xix staife ij copis of grene bawdkyn w^t
orpheras of blew bawdkyn powdered w^t fesans¹ of
gold & wight flowers.

Itm. uppon the same xix staife · a cope of blewe bawdkyn
powdered w^t wight · and orpheras grene velvet
garnyshid w^t crones & starres.

Itm. uppon the xx^{ti} staife a cope of blake velvet sore
worne · w^t orpheras blew velvet florishid w^t flower de
lewis of golde and in the cape an ymage of o^r lady.
of the gifte of

Itm. uppon the same xx staife ij copis of blake worsted w^t
orpheras green velvet playn of the gifte of

[Itm. (a C *struck out*) urpon the same xx staffe a Cope
of blewe damaskt w^t añ grene Offeras of the gyft of
☿ Wylton ald *added in a sixth hand.*]

¹ Pheasants.

Fol. 10b].

Copis.

- Itm. iiij copis for childern of corse vorke chekerd of reed & wight lyying uppon the [nether *altered into*] over shelve next the wyndows in the nether vestre.
- Itm. a cope for the boy that is the bushope paned yelow & blew lyyng uppon the seid shelve.
- Itm. an other of grene bawdkyn for the bushope lyyng uppon the same shelve.

Fol. 11a].

Vestymētē.

- Itm. a vestiment w^t decon & subdeacon of the ground blew whit fflowers w^t libbardē of gold the orpheras rede velvet corse w^t ymagery for the sondays.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of bawdkyn blew & yelow powderd w^t whigh flowers · the orpheras corse grene velvet w^t crownes of gold.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of red silke branchid w^t whight flowers the orpheras blew silke w^t sters of gold
- Itm. a pst decon & subdecon of grene bawdkyn powderd w^t pecokē/orpheras reed & lynes w^t sangwyn sarsnet.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of · whight bawdkyn powderd w^t birdē of whight hede & fete & of gold · and streippis of lewkē golde.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of yelow bawdkyn the orpheras blew silke · powderd w^t [ble *struck out*] whight flowers.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of blake bawdkyn powderd w^t squerelles of gold the orpheras reid cloith of bawdkyn vergid w^t yelow ribbon.

All these lyith uppon the shelve w^t the script^r
Vestymētē complet in the upper vestre.

Fol. 11b].

Vestmentē.

- Itm. a single vestiment of blake wursted powdered w^t red roses.

Itm. a single vestment of blake wursted w^t orpheras blew worsted and wight *¶*hc.

Itm. a vestment of grene cloith of bawdkyn old w^t stole & maniple of other colo^rs and [shortt *struck out*] sv's [*written over*] for evy day.

Itm. an old vestment of whight bawdkyn sore wornne w^t orpheras red cloth.

[Item a vestment of grene cloith of bawdkyn w^t orpheras red & wight bawdkyn w^t birdde^l of golde *struck out and quia postea written in the margin.*]

Itm. a single vestment of blew chamlet¹ garnished w^t *¶*hc crowned in gold & the orpheras rede chamlet w^t a chales on the bake.

Itm. a single vestment of wight bawdkyn w^t an orpheras of reed cloith w^t ymage of o^r lady uppon the bake.

Itm. a single vestment of rede bawdkyn powdered w^t bok^l & the orpheras rede say.

[*Added in a fourth hand:*

Itm. a single vestment of Ray² of colour Red & blewe and the orpheras blak w^t roses & stole and pbys w^t out awbe.

Itm. a single vestment of Bawdkyn blewe & whit w^t orpheras blak w^t roses redd & whit w^t stole & pbys w^t out awbe.

Itm. a single vestment of whit bawdkyn & stripid w^t red & grene & the orpheras Grene & Blewe w^t stole & pbys].

[*Added in a sixth hand:*

Itm. a vestment off Red worsted powdered w^t yelow Saten & *¶*hs up on it.

Itm. a vestment off grene bawdkyn powdered w^t fflowers & swannes y^e orpheras off Red & whyte bawdkyn.

¹ Chamlet, camlet: a stuff of uncertain origin, by some supposed to have been made of silk and camel's hair.

² Ray or rayed stuff was woven in stripes.

Itm. a syngle vestment of yelow stryppyd y^e orpheras blak powdered w^t Grypys].¹

All thes vestment^e liyth upon the shelve with script^r of single of westment^e · in the upp vestre.

Fol. 12a].

Vestement^e.

In p^rimis uppon the lower pres in the lower vestre be hynd the dore on the right hande at the first entre a vestment complet w^t deacon & subdeacon of purpull vellvet powderd w^t archangell^e of gold · And the orpheras red velvet w^t ymagery of the gift of Thomas

[Item uppon the (same *altered into*) middelt pres · a vestment cōplet of grene cloith of tissew · w^t orpheras of brodery vorke (glo *struck out*) gold of ymagere & in the prest vestre the marterdoms of sent Thomas of Cantorbury of the gifte of Thomas Aleñ² *all crossed out and vacat q3 postea written in margin.*]

Itm. a vestment complet of bawdkyn red & grene poudered w^t pecokk^e of golde w^t orpheras of broderd imagery of the gifte of lyng upon the lower prese.

Itm. uppon the same lower prese a vestment of red bawdkyn powdered w^t smale egell^e of golde the orpheras brodery of gold & of the passion of the gifte
All thes vestment^e liyth upon the lower prese
in the lower vestre.

Fol. 12b].

Vestment^e.

Itm. uppon the middle prese a vestment complet of grene

¹ Gryphons or griffins.

² Thomas Alen, citizen and grocer, was sheriff of Norwich in 1447-8.

“In 1453, Tho. Aleyn, grocer, [was buried] in the north isle, and gave a vestment of a 100 marks, with these words thereon in small pearls. *Orate pro Animabus Thome Aleyn et Agnetis uxoris eius.*”—Blomefield, iv. 212.

cloth of tissue w^t orpheras of broderie worke gold ·
ymagery of the martdome of sent Thomas of Cantor-
bury of the gift of Thomas Aleñ.

Itm. uppoñ the same prese a vestment complet of rede
tissew w^t orpheras broderie and in the bake of the
prest the crucifixe of the gifte of Robert Osborne
baker.¹

Itm. a uppoñ the same prese a complet vestment of blew
velvet [w^t *struck out*] powdered w^t fflowers the
orpheras broderie worke · in the bake of the prest the
crucifixe & of the gifte of.²

All thes liyth uppon the myddell prese in
the lower vestre.

Fol. 13a]. Vestment^c.

Itm. a vestment complet of blake velvet w^t
orpheras of blew velvet w^t flowr de lise
in gold & of the gifte of . & liyth
uppon the [tap *altered into*] tabull bi the
wyndows in the lower vestre.

Itm. uppon the same tabull a vestment cōplet
of whight bawdkyn w^t lions powdered in
gold & the orpheras rede bawdkyn of
the gifte of

Vestment^c.

Itm. uppon the same tabull a vestment cōplet
of wight saten the orpheras rede saten
powdered w^t dyvse flowers · brodered · of
the gifte

thes vestment^c liyth uppoñ the tabull by the
wyndows in the lower vestre.

¹ "In 1494, Rob. Osborn, sheriff, was buried before the image of our
Lady on the *rood-loft*, on the south side by Eliz. his late wife, and ordered
Eliz. his relict to buy for the high-altar a red velvet vestment of 40*l*."—
Blomefield, iv. 214. Osborne's brass gives 1495 as the date of his death.

² This suit was probably the one given by Sir William Bilham. See
note *ante*.

Fol. 13b].

Vestment^{re}.

- Itm. a vestment single of chekker worke
velvet grene & yelow for the prest
to syng in uppon sent nycholas day. } ly yng [th
crossed out]
- Itm. a complet vestment for my lord &
ij of his bois of syngle sarsnet } uppon the
upper shelve
chekker worke. } next the
- Itm. a [struck out] the upp more parte of } wyndows in
a vestment for the bushope of steyned } nether vestre.
cloith w^t amor. }
- Itm. a vestment single [vestment *crossed out and dotted under*] for the high aulter of wight bustany w^t a
grene orpheras of bustany for lent.
- Itm. a single vestment for o^r lady aulter of wight diap^r
crossed w^t bawdkyn the vestment and the stole w^t
recidue wight sasnet for lent.
- Itm. a single vestment of white busteny garnyshid w^t rede
riboñ for sent Nycholas aulter in lent.
- Itm. a single vestment of wight bustany · whos orpheras
a fore is yelow bawdkyn for the trinite aulter in lent.
- Itm. a single vestment of wight bustany garnyshid w^t blew
rebbons for sent Johns aulter in lent.
- Itm. an awbe · w^t blew chessabelle · garnishid w^t crownes of
gold · & a lambe uppon a boke · of gold · & it s'vyth
to bere the oile and crñe at ester.

All thes lye uppon the ij shelve bi the wyndows
in the nether vestre.

Fol. 14a].

Vestment^{re}.

- Itm. a single vestment of wight damaske w^t orpheras rede
damaske w^t a ymage of sent Anne uppon the bake /
belongyng to sent Anne is gilde/
- Itm. a vestment single of wight satten w^t orpheras rede
satten. And an ~~ff~~ crowned of gold in the mydd^{le} of
the bake /for o^r lady aulter/

- Itm. a vestment single for sent Nicholas ault¹ of wight bawdkyn powdered w^t fesans & dogg² of gold And the orpheras rede bawdkyn powdered w^t luke¹ gold · after · damaske worke.
- Itm. a single vestment for the trinite aulter of wight diap^r w^t orpheras rede worsted fflorishid · w^t brodered flowers corse in gold.
- Itm. a single vestment for sent Johns ault¹ of wight · bustany · florishid w^t fflowers · & the orpheras of reed wursted w^t a crucifixe uppon the bake.
- Itm. a single vestment for the high aulter · of reed & grene bawdkyn w^t lions & unycorns in gold · & the orpheras blew sarsnet w^t 3^hc crowned uppon the bake.
- Itm. a single vestment for o^r lady aulter of blew worsted garnished w^t 3^hc & 4th crowned of gold · & crose orpheras w^t ymagery brodered.
- Itm. a single vestment of blew sarsnet & the orpheras grene playn for sent Nycholas aulter.

Fol. 14b].

Vestment³.

- Itm. for the Trynete aulter · a single vestment of done² damaske florishid w^t flowers brodered And the orpheras blew velvet pirlid.³ And the bake an 4th crowned in gold.
- Itm. a single vestment for sent Johns aulter of rede satten garnishid w^t flowers broderd. And the orpheras grene satten florishid w^t floerd [*sic*] & of the gift of s' John grace p³ste.

All these vestmentt³ leith uppon the iij shelve next the vyndo in the lower vestre.

Fol. 15a. *Blank.*¹ i.e. Lucca.² Dun colour.³ Embroidered with seed pearls or beads.

Fol. 15b].

[*In later writing*: Itm. a pair of tablett^e enamlet aswell
w^t in as w^t ought in blew ammel belongyng to Jhe
mase of the gifte of

Itm. a round Agnus Dey w^t holy waxe · w^t ij birdd^e in blew
amiell in the mydes].

[In margin in
a 2nd hand:

Fol. 16a]. Silver Plate w^t Juell^e and relikk^e &c.

clericus habet. Itm. a Senso^r of silver pondez unces } Senso^r.
passell gilte daily occupied.

clericus habet. Itm a shipe passell gilte pondez w^t a } Shipe.
estrige fether in the midd^e of it.

[*do. crossed out*]. Itm. a crose of silver plate nailed uppon tymber · } Crose.
[*clericus habet crossed out.*] whos soket is latten gilte · of the gifte of

[*in custodia longying to Jhe mase crossed out.*] Itm. a pair challis gilte pondez of the gifte
[*caret crossed out*]. of Robert holdy · & xpiane his wiffe whos names
be written in the fote. And in the paten is
graven the vernecle.

+ Itm. a pair chalis passell gilte pondez w^t the
Carat. crucifixe o^r lady & sent John in the fote graven
& gilte · & in the paten the vernecle gilte · of
the gifte of

clericus habet. Itm. a pair chalis passell gilte pondez w^t } Chalis.
the crucifixe a lone gilte in the ffote & in the
paten the venecle [*sic*] gilte of the gifte of

carat. + Itm. a pair chalis passell gilt · pondz
of the gifte of Robert de Derh^m Cooke whos
name is graven in the fote · & in the paten the
vernecle hed w^t the holy gost cumyng ought of
his mowith.

All thes liyth in the upper Awmbry next un to
the chymney in upper vestre.

Fol. 166].

Plate.

Itm. a crose w^t the crucifixe o^r lady & sent John w^t }
 [iiij *altered into*] iij ev^angelist^l in amell at
 every upper end one & the xij Appostellis in
 amell at the lower end · w^t vj wrethyng wormes
 between the Appostell^l & the knope of the
 soket · And the crose selfe is enameld in the
 mydd^l w^t blew amell & whight roses boith be
 hynd & a fore [w^t *struck out*] the recidue gilt/
 w^t a fote also to the same graven w^t iiij
 ev^angelist^l · & [iiij *altered into*] iij pphet^l w^t } Crose.
 the gossell^l & pphes in vij q^a-r^s & in the viij
 q^a-rter sent peter sitting in blew amell hym
 selfe wight And [he *struck out*] a mañ womañ
 & j child knellyng uppon grene amell a for
 hym · &c. And this crose stondyth in a box
 made ther [ther *struck out*] for in the further ·
 corner · in the lowe vestre bi the Juell cheste
 And this crose w^t the fote pondereth Clxvj/
 unc And of the gifte of

Itm. an other crose gilte w^t a crucife [*sic*] w^t ought }
 o^r lady & sent John but w^t iiij ev^angelist^l at
 the four endd^l in blew amell And under sent
 Mathew the xij appostellis in blew amell them } Crose.
 selfe whight · and so the knope & the soket
 pond³ And it liyth in a boxe framed for
 it uppon the chest w^t · 39 · in the lower vestre.

Itm. a pair [ch *crossed out*] candelstikk^l pond³ }
 [xl *altered into*] lij unc parcell gilte
 w^t knoppis in the mydd^l w^t vj faces graven } Candil-
 in flowers/of the wich j is [in] the chest } stike.
 w^t 3. And the other stondith ought in the
 nether vestre for buryyng^l.

Fol 17a].

Plate.

- sista.* Itm. ij Cruett℥ parcell gilt pondꝝ uppon
whos one side is graven 3℥ in sone bemys
and the other side . 3℥ . in sone bemys And
· 3℥ · graven uppon the one cover & · 3℥ · Cruett℥.
uppon the other/of the wich the one is in
the chest w^t · 3℥ · and the other left ought
w^t the candelstike for cristenyng℥.
- carat.* Itm. a pair silver bassons pondꝝ xliij unĉ dī
parcell gilte w^t roses pounsed in the mydd℥
· gilte · And in the myddis of the rose in the
one bason sent petir & polle stondyng
graven And in the other of the same facion
w^t a spoute under the bryme graven a lion
in sista. hed · of the wich one liyth in the chest w^t
3℥. And other w^t ought w^t the cruet for
cristenyng℥. basons.
- carat.* Itm. ij basons sil^v & all gilte pondꝝ w^t ij
roses in the myd℥ stondyng in blew amell
the roses gilte & will [*sic*] deforme best℥
graven a bought · the one bason w^t a spoute · basons.
graven lik a lion heed /lyyng in the chest
w^t 3℥ in the lower vestre.
- carat.* Itm. a stondyng pixe gilte · pounsed w^t fflowrs
of ij leves & dragoñ tounge℥ w^t a knope in
the mydd℥ pondꝝ ly yng in the chest pixe.
w^t 3℥.
- in sista.* Itm. a stondyng pixe w^t a crucifie [*sic*] in the
tope [cla struck out] called a gripe is eg w^t
sent xpofer graven w^t in the cover · w^t a fote pixe.
graven & scutchyn of a Rampying lion of
ij colo^rs gilte & blake li yng in a chest w^t 3℥.
- in sista.* Itm. a litell pixe parcell gilt w^t a playn crose
in the tope pondꝝ of the gifte of pixe.
my lady brews / lying in the chest w^t · 3℥.

Fol. 17b].

Plate.

Itm. a Sensor^r all gilte pondz xlvj unces di w^t vj
 round torrettē iij w^t toppis & iij the cheynes
 be fasted in And vj libbardē hedde w^t Sensor^r.
 spowttē · betwen ij torrettē an heed · of the
 gifte of lyng in the chest w^t 3.

Itm. a senso^r of silv^o & parcell gilte pondz ·
 w^t iij libardde heedē bleryng ther tounge
 gilte of the gifte of Willm̄ [*Curstes struck out*] Sensor^r.
 Curtes lying in the chest of 3.

Itm. a shipe w^t an estrige feather standing uppon
 the myddē [w^t a spone of silver in it *crossed*
out] pondz viij unc^o di q^urt^o, of the gifte Shipe.
 And liyth in the cheste w^t 3.

Itm. ij paxes silv^o & all gilte w^t the crucifixe mary
 & John sone & mōne o^o ther heedē in blew
 amell stondyng/of the gifte of Thomas Aleñ¹ paxes.
 pondz lyng in the boxe of · p. w^t in
 the chest of 3.

Itm. an ymage of silv^o of o^r Savio^r w^t hys woundē
 bledyng his vesture gilte w^t a litle pixe for
 the sacrament uppon the breste and a diadem
 silv^o & gilte · pondz lvij unc^o di w^t a crose Savio^r.
 & the fote of the worke · of the gifte
 lyng in the boxe w^t 2. w^t in the chest of · 3.

Itm. an haly vater stike w^t iij wrethis gilte pondz haly
 fowr unces of the gifte of lyng in wat'
 the [*che struck out*] chest of · 3. stike.

¹ "1464. Agnes, widow of Thomas Aleyn, alderman, buried by her husband's tomb, and gave two *osculatories of peace*, of silver, to serve at the altar."—Blomefield, iv. 213.

Fol. 18a].

Plate.

Itm. a pixe all gilte of silver · w^t a crucifixe
mary and John in toppe · and iiij red roses
a bought the glase on boith sid^e of the gife
[sic] of John de Shottesh^m m^l pondz xxj unc^e
lyyng in the boxe of · ~~ff~~. w^t in the chest
of · ~~ff~~.

in sista.

pixe.

Itm. a cresmetory silv^e & passell gilte pondz
xxiiij unc^e w^t iij angelles beryng it up at
ich corner · one gilte · ther wyng^e a brode
of the gife of stondyng in the
chest of · ~~ff~~.

in sista.

Cres-
matory.

Itm. ij pixes of silv^e & all gilte w^t dyvse and
many relikk^e · of the gife of Richard
ballis² aldermañ whos name is written in
ther fette pondz of the wich pixis
the one haith a crose of glase w^t a crose
of tymber in it · & iiij perlles and the
other a crucifixe w^t Mary & John · /thei lye
in a grene cofer w^t · ~~ff~~. w^t in the cheste
of · ~~ff~~.

in sista.

pixe.

Itm. a crose staife of silver and [gif struck out]
gilte w^t iiij knoppis graven & enamelled his
name tha [sic] gave it and in the tope
vj apostellis graven & tabernacled pondz
 unces And of the gife of Richard
ballis · & stondith in the corn^e next the
crose in the low vestre.

in the vestre.

crose
staife.

¹ "1461. John Shotesham buried in the church, gave a silver *pix* of 5 marks value."—Blomefield, iv. 213.

² "1506, Allice Ballis, buried in our *Lady's* chapel, by Ric. Ballis, her husband, and gave *5l.* to cover the relics in the church with silver."—Blomefield, iv. 214.

Fol. 18b].

Chales.

Itm. a peer of chalis of silv^o all gilte of the
 gifte of s' Nicholas Dereh^m p^oste in whos
 [sic] is written *Orate pro anima Nicholai Berh^m*
capellani & Thus Xps pounsed and abought the
 Cupe *Caro mea vera est tibus &c.* And in
 the fote one q^uter the crucifixe upon the
 crose · whight · & in blew amell w^t small
 sters · and a bought the paten is written
benedictus qui venit · & the Trinite in blew
 amell in the mydd^e · pondz
 lyyng in the chest of 3.

Itm. a paer chales of silver · all glite [sic] of
 the gifte of Will^m Curtes upon whos fote
 is graven the crucifixe with Mary & John
 & v tymes 3ht · gilte And in the paten the
 Trinite graven & only gilte · w^t *Orate pro*
anima &c. a bought the verge pondering ·
 & stondyng in the chest w^t 3.

Itm. a pair chales · of silver all gilte w^t the fete pounsed
 w^t knyttyng leves · & the [shave *crossed out*] shaft
 amelled w^t blew in whos vj q^uter of the fote is a
 crucifixe w^t Mary & John gilte stondyng in blew amell
 And the paten gilte w^t the Trinite gilte his vester
 reed · sitting in blew amell//pondz & stondyng
 in the chest of 3.

Itm. a pair chalis of silv^o & all gilte in whos fote is
 written under the crucifixe *Orate pro anima Will^m*
Carleton &c. And in the midd^e of the paten a lambe
 beryng a crose w^t a pendant · pondz lyyng
 in the chest of · 3.

Fol. 19a].

Chales.

Itm. a pair chalis of silv^o all gilte & a bought the [sic] the
 cupe is written, *Benedicamus dominum in omni &c.* & in

the fote v tymes *¶* And in the vj q^ur^t a crucifixe
 stondyng in blew amell w^t a patent written a bought
in sista. Calicem salutaris &c. & a vernacle stondyng in blew
 amell w^t sone bemys gilte pondz of the gifte
 of ly yng in the chest w^t . *¶*

caret + Itm. a pair chalis of silv⁹ parcell gilte of the gifte of John
 Herte · whos name is written in the fote bi the
 crucifixe · gilte · And in the paten the Trinite gilte
 pondz stondyng in the chest of · *¶*

caret + Itm. a pair chalis silv⁹ parcell gilte In whos fote is a
 playn crose · glite [*sic*] & in the patten a vernacle
 gilte pondz & of the gifte and stondyng
 in the chest of *¶*.

[caret struck out]. +
[in sista struck out]. Itm. a pair chalis silv⁹ & parcell gilte · in whos fote is
 a crucifixe gilte · the knope gilte · And in the paten
 a vernecle gilte · pondz And of the gifte of
 ly yng in the cheste of · *¶*.

[Added in a second hand:] Itm. a pair chales passell
 gilt in whose fote is graven the crucifix only in a
clericus habet. branch & in the vernecle the the (*sic*) Trynyte gilte ·
 sitt yng.

Itm. a pair challes passell gylt remanyng in the hand^l of
 the chauntre prest hand^l of the gifte of John Coson
 founder of the the (*sic*) chauntre].

Fol. 19b].

[All added in a second hand:] Itm. a pix of silver passell
 gilt w^t ij knoppis of Cristall in the shank one & on the
 knopp and other pondz

Itm. a pixe of silv⁹ passell gilt the coppe of yv⁹ y¹ pondz

Itm. a pixe all gilt for the sacrament beryng w^t ij Angell^l
 a bought the barrall & J^hc in his Sepulcre bi them/
 o^r lady sent peter & pole ov⁹ the birrall & the
 Trynyte in a pavilion in the tope of the gift of s'
 Robt Cutler prest · pondz.

¹ Ivory.

Itm. a pix of silver all (gist *crossed out*) gilt for sent peters cheyne · w^t a Cruciffixe in the tope & sen peter croned pondz (xxxij unce^l *added*).

It ij basons passell gilt w^t Rosses in the bottem in sone bemies one havying sent John baptist^e & sent John ev^angelest & the other sent margaret & sent Katren in blew amell of the yift of John Cutler & Margaret his wiff.

m5.

Itm. ij paxis all gillt · of the gift of Tho^ms Alen w^t ij Crucifixes in blew amell.¹

Itm. ij smaller paxes all gilt graven crucifixes w^t ij scoutkyns of Armes Jhc & Morleys.

ricus habet.

Itm. one haly watter stoppe w^t the stike passell gilt of the gifte of s^r John Derehant (*sic*) prest² pondering (xlv unce^l · *added*).

Itm. a verger · of silv⁹ w^t ye crose kays & the mytre in the tope · of the gifte of Robt bour grocer.

Itm. ij small crewett^e all gilt of the gilt (*sic*) of (m) wiff Ellys³ pondez

Itm. a Relaye maner of an ewre⁴ passell gilte pounced (*sic*) of (m) Ellis gift pondz¹]

The original hand resumes :

Fol. 20a].

Corporas.

In p¹mis a corporas case the one side [*clos struck out*] blew cloith of tissue And the other side blew damaske And iiij blew bottons at ich end one · And a cloith in it of the gifte of ⁵

¹ Both these entries have the beginning struck through, as if to shew that the whole was cancelled.

² Sir John Doraunt, as he is named on his brass, was chantry priest at Our Lady's altar from 1513 to 1543.

³ Probably William Ellis, son of Thomas and Margaret Ellis, who became Baron of the Exchequer in 1535.—*See* Blomefield, iv. 198, 199.

⁴ Perhaps a replenisher, or a "layer" or laver.

⁵ This was probably the one given by Sir William Bilham. *See* note 2, p. 187, *ante*.

- Itm. a corporas case of grene cloith tissue the one side the other side grene damaske w^t iiij grene bottons at ich end one of the gifte of
- Itm. an other of cloith of gold w^t rede flowers the one side the other side blake velvet and a corporas in it of the gifte of
- Itm. an other of rede velvet boith sidd^l · w^t iiij reede bottons and a corporas in it of the gift
- Itm. an other of cloith of gold w^t a rose of rede velvet in the same in the mydd^l uppon boith sidis · And [1 *crossed out*] iiij flowers tasselled w^t grene silke at ich end one · set w^t perle of the gifte
- Itm. an old one of brodery worke gold of the whell of fortune · of the gifte & a corporas in it.
- Itm. j of old cloith of bawdkyn scutchyns one the one side and knott^l uppon the other and a corporas in it.
- Itm. j of old blake velvet uppon boith sid^l and a corporas in it.
- Itm. j of old nedull worke one the one side flowrishid w^t flowers & buttere flyes and the other sid blew cloith of bawdkyn and a corporas in it.

Fol. 20b].

Corporas.

- Itm. a corporase case of rede & blake bawdkyn powdered w^t birdd^l pillers & Dogg^l · & a corporas in it.
- Itm. a corporase of grene bawdkyn the one side and the other side lether · & a cloith in it.
- [*In a sixth hand*: Itm. a Corporas Case off blak Clothe off tesew the one sydy & the other syd blew schamlet].
All thes lye in litell cofer w^t ℥ in the low vestre.
- Itm. vj corporas casses & vj cloithis corse for evy day In the awnbry in the high vestre · w^t chales.

Fol. 21a. *Blank.*

Fol. 21b].

Canapis.

- Itm. a canape of reed damaske · w^t a chalis of gold in brodery worke in the myddel and frengid · a bought w^t wight rede & grene silke · & lyith uppon the upp more shelve be hynd the dore in the low vestre.
- Itm. a frame of tymber w^t iiij staves steyned rede for the same canape · llyng under the copis.

Fo. 22a]. Curtens & clothis of silke for the cov'ying of the pixe where the sacrament is.

- Itm. j pece of rede syngle sarsnet of ell & more longe & yerd brode · w^t ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~ixs~~ ^{ixs} in letters of gold in the myddel · longyng to the sepulchre.
- Itm. an other pece of ell & more longe · & q^uarter of a yerde brod · of the same silke & color.
- Itm. an other of the same color & silke · of di yerde longe & q^uarter brode · w^t ij streippis of wight & one of blew in the one end.
- Itm. ij of blake sarsnet · of [iiij q^uarters *crossed out and*] yerde [*written over*] or more longe a pece · & iiij q^uarters brode · w^t frengie of silke at the one end of wight rede & grene.
- Itm. an old one of wight sarsnet of iiij yardd^e longe q^uarter brode sore worne.
- Itm. a goode one · of yerde & more evy way · of Reed sarsnet garnishid w^t yelow ribbon w^t knoppis in nedull worke · iiij of gold · & tasselled w^t rede silke and it ^{is} with for the pixe.
- Itm. j of yelow sarsnet of iiij yerdd^e & more longe · and di yerde brode & chaunable⁷ in ich ende & in myddel a litell

⁷ See for "changeable" = shot.

- Itm. j pece of grene sarsnet of ij yerd^l & more longe
 & yerde & more brode · new w^t iiij wight thredd^l
 rūnyng thorow ought the pece in the one end.
- Itm. a pece of reed sendell of iiij q^urt^r of yerd longe & dī
 yerd brode sore worne.

Fol. 22b].

Curtens.

- Itm. ij cortens of grene sarsnet · of yerde & dī longe
 a pece & yerd brode redy rynged · the one haith a
 hole in the upp parte.
- Itm. ij cortens of grene sarsnet of yerd & more longe
 & iiij q^urters brode · frenged w^t wight red & grene
 silke · reddy ryngged.
- Itm. ij cortens · of wight & blew w^t other colo^rs of sarsnet
 panet of ij yerdd^l longe & yerd & dī brode w^t
 frenge of wight rede & grene of silke · reddy
 rynged [uppon the one · the other not frenged · *struck*
out]
- [*Added in a fourth hand*: It. j redde sarsenet for the
 sakerment vergid w^t (frenge of *struck out*) goold and
 iiij knoppes reed sylk & goold.
- It. j reed silk ij yerd^l in lenkyth & dī elne in breed.
- It. j reed silke hangyng ov^o the heigh auter ov^o the pyxt
 daly and is frenged w^t].
- [*In a fifth hand*: Itm. ij^o Curtens of Steyned Clothe
 white w^t Crownes of Thorne and *Thus* (in *struck*
out) Wretyn in them in red and *3*ve for lente / to
 hang in the Quere].
- [*In a sixth hand*: Itm. ij Cortens off greinne sarsent
 pentyd w^t florrys off gold & *Thus* crownyd lynyd w^t
 greine bockram & serve to hang in the quere].

All thes lye wrappid in a napkyn in the litell
 cofer w^t x. in the nether vestre.

Fol. 23a]. Hangyng^e & Aulter cloithis for all aulters.

Itm. a hangyng of grene sarsnet w^t ymages & 3^hc & sterres gilte complet for the v aulters of the gifte of Richard ballis.

Itm. a cloith of blew tissue w^t a frence of silke wight grene rede & yelow for the nether part only of the high aulter of the gifte.

Itm. a steyned cloith w^t shipes of gold & estrigg^e fethers one wight and other grene for the neu^l [*sic*] part of the high aulter.

Itm. a frontell of velvet of the same worke w^t a aulter cloith of diap^r of the gift of

All thes lye uppon the neu^l shelve in the further end of the low vester next the chest w^t 3.

Fol. 23b]. Aulter clothis.

Itm.

Itm. a complet hangyng for the v aulters of steyned worke for lent w^t [*w altered into*] veyns & closters & other ymagery.

Itm. ij steyned litell cloithes w^t lambis & frengid with thred for the shreyne on pame sonday.

Itm. an hangyng of blake bawdkyn steyned w^t libard^e hed^e of gold as well be neith as a [*bis crossed out*] boife to the highter aulter only w^t iij towellis . ij playn & one diapare . longyng only to the same and not to the napry.

[Itm^l for ij aulters more boith a bove & beneith . and beneith (*written over both crossed out*) of the third of blake sarsnet *struck out*]

Itm. for the other iij aulters vj [*of struck out*] clothis of blake sarsnet & ij of lynen cloith steyned blake lyned w^t bokeram.

Itm. a frontell of blake velvet to the high aulter w^t a
frenge of silke & ij grene frengel rūnyng thorow
ought the frontell.

[*Added in a fifth hand:* Itm. A vernacle off made in
lawnde¹ & y^e passion off Cryst w^t petyr & powle].
All thes lye uppon the uppermore shelve in the
fu^r end of the nether vestre on the side wher
the copis hange.

Fol. 24a]. Aulter clothes.

Itm. the upp parte [& the nether *struck out*] parte for the
high aulter of wight bawdkyn w^t roses of gold &
grene leves.

Itm. the nether parte w^t the frontell of bawdkyn wight w^t
lions of gold & the frontell haith a cloith for the
aulter of diap^r soid² to it.

Itm. a hangyng whight for o^r lady aulter steyned after the
bawdkyn w^t roses And an ymage of sent Anne & o^r
lady in the mydds.

Itm. for sent Nycholas aulter after the same worke w^t
thadcension in the myddel.

Itm. for sent John is aulter a wight after damaske worke
w^t the salutation of o^r lady.

Itm. for the Trinite aulter a wight steyned hangyng w^t the
coronation of o^r lady in the upp parte & sent Anne
in the nether parte.

Itm. ij nether partel for aulters soud togeder steyned after
the worke of the bawdkyn w^t roses.

Itm. wight steyned cloith w^t flowers of yelow for the
nethe part of the high aulter.

All thes lyith uppon the third shelve in the vestre
beneith next the copis.

¹ Lawnde: lawn, or fine linen.

² Sewed.

Itm. a hangyng of wight sarnet w^t the v iois of o^r lady & other ymagery steyned in gold for upp parte of the high aulter lyyng uppon the upp mor shelve be hynd the dore.

Fol 246]. Aulter clothis.

Itm. a nether cloith of grene bawdkyn w^t ij ymag^e of sent John baptist and John ev^gelist longyng to Sent John is aulter.

Itm. a hangyng a bove & beneith for sent John is aulter of grene sarsnet w^t roses.

Itm. for the same aulter a frontell of blew velvet w^t a corse cloith of diap^r.

Itm. a cloith steyned w^t v iois of o^r lady for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a nether cloith of grene bawdkyn w^t heynis of gold and corse diap^r cloith soid to for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a frontell of the same grene bawdkyn w^t a cloith of diap^r the one end blew ray for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a frontell frenged w^t silke red grene & wight of corse cloith of tissue for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a steyned cloith w^t trinite in the mydd^e for the nether part of Trinite aulter.

Itm. a steyned cloith of rede florishid w^t wight flowers [for he *struck out*] for aboife & beneyth of the Trinite aulter & in the mydd^e of the upp cloith the second pson & in ther lower pte of o^r lady.

Itm. a cloith of grene bawdkyn w^t wight lylles for the nether parte of sent necholas aulter w^t a diap^r toelly sowl un to it.

Itm. a frontell of the same grene bawdkyn with a diap^r cloith w^t ij pachis for sent Nycholas aulter.

Itm. an other frontell of the same worke for the same aulter w^t a cloith of diap^r.

Itm. a steyned cloith of rede with the coronation of o^r lady for the upp parte of o^r lady aulter.¹

Fol. 25a]. Aulter clothes.

Itm. a steyned cloith wight for sent Nicholas aulter w^t coronation of o^r lady & other seyntt^e marters.

Itm. for the high aulter a cloith of grene [& blew w^t byrdys and lyons to ly afor y^e Awl^t *added in a fifth hand*].

All thes cloithes lye uppon the [iiij *altered to*] ij shelve next the copis in the nether vestre.

Itm. a steyned cloith of blew w^t dyvse seyntt^e gold and in the frontell the xij appostell^e hedde And longith to o^r lady aulter & lyith wrappid uppon a staife on the third prese be hynde the dore.

Itm. steyned cloithes complet for the sepult^r of dyvse colo^rs & ymagery w^t crounes of gold & lyith uppon the ij shelve bi the wyndows w^t lent vestmentt^e.

Fol. 25b]. Aulter Clothis.

Itm. a cloith for nether parte of the high aulter of blake bawdkyn powderd w^t lions of gold & blew lions & squerell^e.

Itm. a frontell of the colo^r & worke w^t a corse diap^r cloith sowid un to it.

Itm. a cloith for the neither parte of the high aulter of Rede bawdkyn powdered w^t gold and playn cloith sowd ther un to.

Itm. a frontell to the same of Rede bawdkyn w^t flowers of broderie worke. And a playn cloith sowid to the same.

All these lye in low awmbrey next the chymney in the high vestre.

¹ *At the foot of this page is written in a later hand: It. the laste yere was ljs the garderyng after ees^e day ljs ij^s & ij^s after dedecacion was xxvj^s & ix^d.*

Fol. 26a]. Myters & Crosiers.

Itm. a myter of nedull worke of silver powdered w^t steres of gold & smale stones of dyv⁹se colo^rs and garnyshid w^t xxvij pec^l of silver & gilte. some set w^t stones & some enamelld & ij knoppis in the tope silver and gilte.

Itm. a mytir of cloith of bawdkyn rede. the one side powdered w^t corse gold the other side garnyshid w^t ij brodered flowers.

Itm. a myter of lether. paynted & gilte.

Itm. a myter of parchmeñ silvered.

Itm. a crossier hede of tymber gilte all w^t an ymage of sent Nycholas sitting and a toelly of diap^r of iij yard^l & dī longe.

All thes lye in the cheste w^t  in the low vestre.

Fol. 26b]. *Blank.*

Fol. 27a]. Baner cloithis.

Itm. a baner cloith steyned of the lyfe of sent peter of the gifte of Will^m Bacune hosier & Margaret his wife whos psons be peynted in it and frenged w^t silke rede wight & grene.

Itm. aner [*sic*] cloith steyned of the lyfe of sent John baptiste garnyshid w^t wight grene yelow rede & blew silke. and sent Margaret. James. & Will^m in pendans peynted.

Itm. a baner cloith of sent Anne litell gold in it frengid w^t threde wight rede & grene.

Itm. a baner cloith paynted of thassumpcion of o^r lady no gold in it fregid [*sic*] w^t thred wight rede & grene.

Itm. a baner cloith for the crose of grene sarsnet w^t sent peter gilte sitting in a troune frengid w^t silke of of dyv⁹se colo^rs.

Itm. an other of [fame *struck through*] sarsnet w^t armes of
Ingland frengid w^t silke for the crose.

Itm. an old wight baner cloith peynted w^t sent polle frengid
w^t thred.

Itm. an other of the same facion of sent peter.

Itm. ij baner cloithis paynted w^t droipis of rede And the
passione of crist^e armes & grene wrethis of the gifte
of Richard ferro^r ¹ thei 3ve for passion sonday &c.

All thes baner cloithis lye uppon the upp more
prese in the low vestre.

Fol. 27b]. *Blank.*

Fol. 28a]. Baner staves.

Itm. under the copis in low vestre be v ij grene j rede ij wight
w^t rede droppis & silverd like spere hedde.

Fol. 28b]. *Blank.*

Fol. 29a]. Nappery.

Itm. a towelly of diap^r corse worke of vij yerd^e &
iij q^uarters longe di yerd brode w^t an oliot hole in the
one end.

Itm. a towelly of diap^r good worke iij yerd^e & q^uarter
longe & iij q^uarters brode w^t an oliot in the end &
a breke on the one eige a bought the mydde.

Itm. a good towelly of diap^r ix yard^e longe iij q^uarters
brode w^t i k at the one end And at ich end after the
blew cheyns playn cloith a hand bred.

Itm. a towelly of Rayns of iij yard^e iij q^uarters longe not
fully di yerd brode garnishid a bought the egge w^t redde
silke & grene And at ich end bird^e of rede silke &
gold it s'vith to bere the oile & creme at ester.

Itm. a towell of corse diap^r of vij yerds & iij q^uarters
longe di yard & more brode w^t a wight crose in the
one end.

¹ Alderman Richard Ferrouer died in 1614.—Blomefield, iv. 214.

- Itm. a towelly sore worne of diap^r iiij yerd[℥] longe & q^u-rter & dī yerd brode w^t a gret hoill the one end.
- Itm. a fyne towelly of diap^r of viij yerd[℥] & iij q^u-r[℥] longe & more an iij q^u-rters brode w^t a key in the one end.
- Itm. a towelly of diap^r goode of x yerd[℥] & j q^u-r[℥] longe & more dī yerd brode w^t an oliot hole in the one end.
- Itm. a towelly of v yerd[℥] & iij q^u-r[℥] long and iij q^u-r[℥] brode of diap^r sore worne & a gret hole in the mydd[℥].
- Itm. a fyne towelly of Rayns of v yerd[℥] iij q^u-rters longe more the yerd brod & a seme ov⁹thawart in the mydd[℥] w^t i & k in the one end.

Fol. 29b].

Nappery.

- Itm. a kercher cloith of fyn holon of as long as brod a yerd & dī q^u-rter to see it shuld be a corporas [& y^t hath . . In the one end *added in a later hand*].
- Itm. a towelly of diap^r xiiij yerd[℥] longe not dī yerde brode w^t a blew thred sowd to the selfe egge on the ende.
- Itm. a playn aulter (*sic*) of ij yerd[℥] & dī longe & yerd & more brode w^t [ij *altered to*] j oilliot holles [one of blew the other *struck out*] of wight at the one end.
- Itm. a towelly of diap^r w^t brokune verges of v yerd[℥] long & dī yerd brode.
- Itm. an aulter cloith of vj yerd[℥] long & j yerde q^u-r[℥] brode of diap^r w^t an oliot of wight thred in thend.
- Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r of v yerd[℥] dī longe & yerd q^u-r[℥] brode w^t [an J of rede silke in the end *struck out and*] A Peter key [*written over*].
- Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of iiij yerd[℥] longe & yerd & q^u-rter brode w^t an hedles crose of blew in the one end.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of v yerd^l longe & yerd & q^u^r^t brode w^t a frence on thend of the same cloith.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of iiij yerd^l & iij q^u^r^ters longe & yerd & q^u^r^ter brode w^t a key of wight thred in the one end.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of vj yerd^l long & yerd & q^u^r^t brode sore worne.

Itm. a fyne cloith of diap^r of v yerd^l & q^u^r^t longe & yerd & q^u^r^t brode w^t an oliot of wight thred in the one end.

Itm. a playn aulter cloith of iiij yerd^l & q^u^r^t longe & yerd brode w^t an oliot of [blewe *altered to*] wight thred [frenched *added*].

[It s'veth to
ley on y^e Aut'
on holy days,
added in a 3rd
hand].

Itm. a playn aulter cloith of v yerd^l & q^u^r^t longe & yerd brode w^t an oliot of wight thred.

[Itm. a ffyn Awter Clothe of dyaper of vj yardis long & yard brod w^t a blewe marke In the on end & a ffrence on the other end *added in a third hand*.]

All thes lye in the chest w^t ¶ in the lower vestre.

Fol. 30a].

Nappery.

Itm. a towelly of diap^r of vj yerd^l & more longe dī yerd brode w^t ij knott^l at the one end.

Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r sore worne of ij yerd^l longe & yerd brode and more.

[It lyith in
y^e awmbry be
y^e chiny in a
third hand].

Itm. a playn towelly of iiij yerd^l & q^u^r^t longe & dī yerd brode w^t a blew oliot in the end.

Itm. a playn towelly of iij yerd^l & q^u^r^t longe & dī yerd brode w^t a triangle of rede silke in the one ende.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith sore worne of iiij yerd^l & q^u^r^t longe & j yerd & q^u^r^t brode.

Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r sore worne of ij yerd^l longe & yerd^l & more brode w^t blew thred in the end.

Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r of iij yerd^l dī longe & yerd^l brode.

Itm. a playn towelly of ij yerde dī long & dī yerd brode w^t an oilliet hole of whight in thend.

Itm. a [playn *crossed out and*] pleyne [*written over*] towelly of ij yerde [dyaper *written over and struck through*] & dī longe & dī yerd brode w^t a blew thred sown in a corñ.

Itm. a towelly playn of iij yerde dī longe & iij q^urters brode sent peter is cheyn is wrapid in it.

Itm. a playn aulter cloith of ij yerde & dī longe & yerd & q^urtter brode w^t a wight oliot hole in the end.

[It lyith i y^e
aūbry by ye
chē added
in a third
hand].

Itm. a towelly of diap^r of vj yerde longe & not fully dī yerde brode, w^t an M & an oliot hole of wight thred in the one end.

[*Added in a third hand*: It. a towely off dyaper ij yardys dī long & dī yard brod w^t a wyth thred In the end.

It. A napkyn off dyaper ffor a wypyng towell to the hey Awter off A yard long].

All thes lye in the awmbry of napry in the upp vestre.

Fol. 30b. [*All in a third hand*: Napery.

[It ys att M
Aylon,
written in
margin in
another
hand.]

It. a pleyne awter Clothe off ij yardys 3 longe & yard brod w^t a blew oyllet In the end.

It. a pleyne awter Clothe of iiij yardys q^urttr long & yard brod w^t a oyllet off wyth In thend.

It. a pleyne awter Cloth off iiij yardys iij q^urtℓ long & yard brod w^t a oyllet In thend.

It. a towelly off dyaper sore worne off ij yardys long & yard brod.

It. a towelly off dyaper off iiij yardℓ 3 long & 3 yard brod & more w^t a oyllet In thend.

It. a towelle off dyaper off iiij yardys long & q^urtℓ brod & morre w^t an oyllet off wyth In thend.

It. a towell off dyaper off iij yardys long & q^urtℓ brod w^t a gret holle In the end].

[*Added in another hand*: It. a Towell }
 of Diaper of (*sic*) w^t a Jhc of blak } lenth v yard^e
 & silk longyng to Jhc. Messe } brede iij q^ut^e]

[*Added in another hand again*: It. a aw^l clothe Dyap of
 y^e gyft of John Newell whos name is wryttyn in the
 mydde of the cloth.

It. a aw^l cloth of Dyap of ye gyft of Wyllm Buntynge
 for o^r ladys aw^l & hys name is wryttyn
 at y^e one ende].

[*Added in another hand*: It. a Towell of the Gyft of
 Debell Yxforth ffor a howselyn Towell w^t a Tolye].

[*Ale thes In the ower Westry in the third hand*].

Fol. 31a]. [*Still in the third hand*: Napery.

It. A ffyne awter Clothe off dyaper off v yardys q^u long
 & yard 3 brod w^t a wyth ollyet In the end.

It. an awte Ter (*sic*) Clothe off pleyn Clothe off v yardys &
 q^ut long & yard brod w^t a wyth oylet In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe off iij yardys & q^ut long and
 yard brod w^t an oylet & a blew thred In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe ffyne off v yardys q^ut long &
 yard brod & more w^t a wyth thred In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe off v yardys long & yard brod
 w^t a wyth oylet In the end.

It. a pleyn wter Clothe off v yardys q^u long w^t a seme
 In the medys & yard brod and more & a oylet In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe off iiij yardys q^ut long & yard
 brod w^t a (blew *corrected to*) whyte oyllet In the end].

[It. (ij *altered to*) j Awter Clothys (*altered to* Clothe) off
 pleyne¹ Cloth on off v yardys long and anthe of v
 yard^e halffe *all struck through and* Ric petyt hath
 y^e i kepyng *added in margin in another hand*] [&
 he hath lost it & paid for it to the Chirchereves xx^d
added in another hand].

¹ "diap" written over.

[*Added in another hand:*

ffyrst y^o ys xij awt^o clothes off dyaper.

It. xiiij¹ playne awt^o clothes.

It. xix Towellys of dyap.

It. vij Towellys playne.

[*Added in another hand:* Itm. iiij wypyng Napkyns to
leye oñ the awters].

[*In the third hand:* Ale thys ly In the nether Westry].

Fol. 31b. *Blank.*

In the earlier hand throughout the book:

Fo. 32a]. Lumber tymber.

Itm. vj wight paxis w^t grene crossis paynted s'vyng for
lent & hange on a streyng bi the uppmore shelve in
the low vestre.

Itm. a trestell w^t steppis.

Itm. vij smale candelstik^o silverd & gilte
for cristmase day.

Itm. vj cases for chales of wikers.

Itm. a thyng callyd Judas w^t prikkett^o for
candell^o uppon tenable days/stondyng
behynd the chest w^t 3.

under the
shelves
in the
low vestre.

Itm. a grene crose w^t iiij ev^gelist^o gilte for
ester morow in the resurrection.

ov^o the p^ossis
be hynd the
dore in the
low vestre.

Itm. a frame like a sheren for the sacra-
ment uppon palme sonday.

Itm. iij palmis for p^ost decon & subdecon one pawme
sonday lyyng uppon the selyng ov^o the copis in
the low vestre.

Itm. ij supaltares of merble framemed [*sic*] in tymber
the one holl the other broke under the pressis in the
low vestre.

Fol. 32b]. *Blank.*

¹ ² Written over an erasure.

Fol. 33a]. [*In the fourth hand*: Schettys.

It. a peyr off ffynne schettys one of iij yardys & the other off ij yardys & iij q^{tt} long.

Alle thes lythe In the nether Westry].¹

Fol. 33b]. [*A pen trial*: Be it knowē to all mē by this p^{re}sent wrytyng].

Besides the English inventory printed above there exist two Latin ones of much earlier date. These are contained in a manuscript volume, now in the Public Record Office, known as Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer Miscellaneous Book, No. 30. It has no original title, but from internal evidence seems to be a record of the Visitations of William Swinfield, archdeacon of Norwich 1361-1387, and his two immediate successors. An English version of the inventories of the Norwich churches in the MS. forms the subject of a paper by the late Mr. Henry Harrod in a former volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*,² but the Latin originals do not seem to have been printed.

The manuscript in question contains two inventories of the goods and ornaments of the church of St. Peter Mancroft: one, early in the volume; the other, ten leaves further on. Unfortunately, neither is dated.

From internal evidence the second is the earlier, and it is perhaps made up from still older lists. It begins with a catalogue, ranging from books and vestments to the font and bier, apparently of such ornaments as the parishioners were bound to provide under the constitution of Archbishop Robert of Winchelsey, in 1305.³ These are followed, in the same hand, by a number of items, in part contributed (*ex collacione*) by various donors, and in part, apparently,

¹ *Written across the page in another hand is*: It. the geddyeryng att eaf day last past ti ij^s & candelmas day xvij^s.

² Vol. v. 89-121.

³ W. Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. *De ecclesiis edificandis* (London, 1505), f. cxxxvij.

provided by the parish, since they include *inter alia* a cross and two banners not entered in the first list. The way in which these items are written down is strongly suggestive of an older list with added entries having been transcribed into the volume under notice.

A comparison of the list thus far with that in the constitution of Archbishop Robert shews that the parishioners had more than done their duty as regards the greater number of ornaments, a vessel for holy water, a pax, and a paschal candlestick being the only omissions, besides the bells and images, which it may not have been thought necessary to include. The inventory also contains so many more books and vestments than the prescribed *minima*, as well as other ornaments, that the church may be fairly said to have been decently furnished. The list is, unfortunately, so little else than a mere catalogue that it is hardly worth while analyzing it.

To the original list several additional entries have been made. The first specifies a number of ornaments significantly described as *collata per parochianos*. The next records the gift of a holy water vessel and three sprinklers. Then follow a number of other contributions, and the list concludes with a memorandum touching the appointment of the two chaplains of two chantries founded by John Cosyn in 1338. The added entries are a little fuller in detail than the first list.

The text of the inventory is as follows:

<p>SANCTI PETRI DE MANCROFT. f. 14 b].</p>	{	<p>Estimacio ejusdem xxv m^r. Porcio Abbatis [<i>in margin</i> Porcio] Gloucesterie in eadem vj. m^r. synod Michaelis jd. ob. Synod Pasche jd. ob. [<i>added in margin</i>: Pensio domini archidiaconi xl. d.].</p>
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Ornamenta ecclesia [*sic*] j ordinale iij antiphonaria legenda temporum et sanctorum in uno volumine. Martilogium

cum ympn¹ · v · Palteria [*sic*] · ij manualia ij processionalia ij missalia iij gradalia · ij · troparij v · paria vestimentorum cum ij tuniculis et ij dalmaticis vij cape chori vj · linthiamina · iij · manutergia · ij · frontella · ij · corporalia · iij calices argenti · ij pelves [*argentea written over*] iij · Phiole · ij auricularia ij candelabra stannee velum xl^o xij superpellicia ij Rochetta · iij superaltaria ij ciste ad vestimenta iij · tortices portatiles¹ campana manualis lucerna turribulum spurula² ij pixides eukariste crismatorium et baptisterium sub serure feretrum Palterium [*sic*] ex collacione Christiane de Burwode j missale ex collacione Thome del Jewrye j bibblia legenda sanctorum ex collacione domini Ade nuper Capellani parochialis. Cupa argentea et deaurata ex collacione Willelmi de Wymondham. Palterium [*sic*] ex collacione Willelmi de Creyk una casula tunica et dalmatica ex collacione Johannis de Henney · j portiforium. Item ij tunice vj pulvinaria una crux argenti vij tapeta iij palla · j · vestimentum cum tunica dalmatica · j · linthiamen · j · frontellum j calix argenti et deaurati ex collacione Johannis Her² ij vexilla j casula alba amita cum paruris stola fanone cum ij · tuallis ex collacione Willelmi de Blakene. Item j manutergium. Item j Cupa argenti et deaurata ex collacione Ricardi de Byteryng et sunt in eadem ecclesia.

Added in another hand :

Item · ij · phiole argenti ij candelabra argenti · j · turribulum argenti cum spurula argenti collata per parochianos. Item. item.

Added in another hand :

Item unum vas pro aqua benedicta cum · iij · isopis de

¹ Tapers to bear in processions.

² I am unable to find this word *spurula* in any available dictionary, but by a process of comparison and exhaustion, it clearly means an incense ship.

laton ex collacione Roberti Estoft et Alicie uxoris ejus.

Added in another hand:

Item habent unum vestimentum integrum cum capa blodij¹ coloris cum lebbard² de auro ex dono Isabelle Wynde.

Item duas capas chori rubeique coloris ex collacione ejusdem Isabelle.

Item unum antiphonarium magnum et novum ex collacione Johannis Harlestoñ.

Item aliud antiphonarium ex collacione Thome Warner.

Item unum crismatorium novum de argento et in parte deaurato ex dono Johannis Greyne.

Added in another hand:

j processionale ex collacione Elene Harleston.

Added in another hand:

Item Johannes Cosyn fundavit ibidem ij cantarias perpetuas ij capellanorum iij Kalendas Januarij anno m^occcxxvij proficiend³ dicti capellani per Priorem et Capitulum ecclesie Cathedralis Norvicensis infra xv dies a tempore mortis cessionis seu amocionis hujusmodi computandos [subsequetur *struck out*] alioquin loci diccessionis vel ipso absente officii ejus quam pro tempore fuerit extunc cessante impedimento hinc quamque de hujusmodi capellanis se capellano dicte cantarie infra alios xv dies provideat illa vice quod si infra tempus illud per episcopum vel ejus Officium nunc provideri contigerit huic provisio ad dictos priorem et capitulum iterato devolvatur similiter infra aliorum xv dierum spacium facianda provisio et sic de capellano ad episcopum et ecclesiam, etc.

The later list differs considerably from the older, firstly in length, secondly in being throughout of one date and in one hand, and thirdly in greater fulness. It is, unfortunately,

¹ *Blodius* = blue.

not easy, owing to the baldness of the former list, to collate the one with the other, and beyond some of the pieces of plate and a few of the books it cannot be said which entries correspond.

The inventory under notice begins with an enumeration of the vestments, most of which seem to have been of rich material. Of suits¹ there were five, including a principal one of blue velvet powdered with gold angels, a striped, a white, and a black suit, each of cloth of gold, and a fifth of green cloth of silk. The first four suits also had each a cope. Four other suits, three of them gifts, are also entered: one of red cloth of gold of Cyprus, another per pale red and blue, a third of red silk, each with its cope, and a fourth of green silk cloth rayed.

Of single vestments there were nine: one of gold cloth powdered with gold stags, a second of white cloth diapered (perhaps for Lent), a third of red with gold eagles and stars, a fourth of black sendal for mass of requiem, a fifth of white cloth for commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, two others of red, an eighth of silk cloth for ferials, and a ninth of velvet "cum checkery." Many of these had albes belonging to them, and there were also two special albes, one with red velvet apparels powdered with gold butterflies, the other with apparels of red cloth of gold.

Besides the seven copes already mentioned there was an eighth "pauledé," powdered with dolphins. Also two quire copes of green, and two others of red cloth of gold, probably for the chanters or *rectores chori*.

The list which follows, of hangings and cloths for the high altar, shows that it had only two sets: one of cloth of gold, the other of black cloth of gold. The one had also a frontel, but the black set had three; it is, therefore,

¹ A suit included a chasuble, a dalmatic and tunicle, and the three albes (and probably the amices, girdles, stoles, and fanons to match), and generally a cope.

somewhat uncertain whether *frontellum* has the same meaning in this inventory as in the English one.

The plate comprised a principal and two other chalices for the high altar, two chalices for ordinary use (*pro communitate*), and another assigned to the altar of the Holy Trinity, otherwise called "Hilbrondes auter."

The three "coupes" were probably pixes for the Reserved Sacrament.

The other silver ornaments were two "chargeours" or basons, a pair of candlesticks (*candelabra*), two censers and their ships, a cross, a sprinkler, and two cruets.

The "laton" or brass ware consisted of a chrismatory, two pair of portable candlesticks, a cross, two censers, a desk, and two "coupes" or pixes *pro corpore Christi*. There were also two candlesticks of pewter (*de stangno*).

The bells comprised two great and two small, probably in the steeple; two little bells for funerals, a very small bell, and another bell called "sacryng bell."

Five silk pillows and the Lenten veil are also noted.

The list of books is a fairly full one. It begins with a new massbook given under certain specified conditions, followed by a massbook for the high altar, and two others *pro communitate*. Then come a manual, three grails, and as many processionars, two ordinals and a bible, and for the hour services a *legenda aurea*, another *de temporalibus*, and a *legenda sanctorum*, two great and two little portoses, two great antiphonars or anthem books, a collectar, and three psalters; also a new and an old martyrology.

The inventory concludes with three short lists of special ornaments.

The first contains the ornaments for the feasts of the Holy Innocents and St. Nicholas, for the use of the boy bishop and his mates. They include complete suits for the bishop, deacon, and sub-deacon, four copes for boys, and a

mitre of great price and a crosier ; also a set of coverings and curtains for the altar of St. Nicholas.

The second list specifies the ornaments for the chapel of the Blessed Mary, comprising four sets of vestments for the chaplain, four linen altar cloths, four towels, two silk cushions, a chalice, a massbook, a white frontal, etc. and another painted one for the altar, three corporases, a pix, four "pilwes," a chained portose, and two costers or ridels, also for the altar.

The third list is that of the ornaments of John Cosyn's chantry, founded as aforesaid in 1338. It included a chalice given by the founder, a massbook, and a portose, two vestments for each chaplain, two linen altar cloths, and a towel, two cruets, a surplice, and a corporas.

The text of the inventory is as follows :

SANCTI PETRI DE MANCROFT. f. 2 b.]	{	Estimacio ejusdem xxv m ^r . Porcio Abbatis Gloucestrie in eadem vj. m ^r . Synod Michaelis jd. ob. Synod Pasche jd. ob. Pensio domini archidiaconi iij ^s . iiij ^d .
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Ornamenta ejusdem [*ejusdem written again and struck out*] ecclesie.

Inprimis unum vestimentum principale de blewe velwet pulverizat^o cum angelis de auro videlicet una capa · una casula · duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum paulede de panno aureo et de serico scilicet una capa · un [*sic*] casula · duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de panno albo et de auro videlicet una capa · una casula · duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de nigro panno de auro scilicet capa casula duo tunicula et tria alba.

- Item unum vestimentum de viridi panno de serico scilicet casula duo tunicula et unum album.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno aureo pulverizat^o cum Cervis de auro videlicet casula et duo alba.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno albo diapred · videlicet una casula et unum album de dono Johannis Wodeward capallani.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno rubeo et serico pulverizat^o cum aquilis et stellis de auro scilicet casula et unum album.
- Item unum vestimentum de nigro sendell pro defunctis pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno rubeo aureo pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno albo pro uno capellano pro commemoratione beate marie virginis.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno rubeo de Tarse pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno de Serico pro ferialibus pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum album cum paruris de rubeo velvet · pulverizat^o cum Boterfleyes de auro.
- Item unum album cum paruris de rubeo panno de auro.
- Item una capa paulede pulverizata cum dolfynes.
- Item due Cape de panno viridi de auro pro choro.
- Item due cape de panno rubeo de auro pro choro.
- Item de dono domine Alicie Skeet unum vestimentum de panno rubeo aureo de Ciprys cum orfreys de passione domini · scilicet · una capa · una casula · duo tunicula · et tria alba.
- Item de dono Willelmi Rys unum vestimentum bipartitum de rubeo panno serico et blewe · scilicet · una capa · una casula duo tunicula tria alba.
- Item de dono pro animabus Walteri de Bonewell et Alicie uxoris sue · unum vestimentum de rubeo serico · cum

orfreys de stellis de auro · scilicet · una capa · una casula duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de viridi panno serico stragulato cum orfreys de Gryffons · scilicet · una casula duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de velvet cum chekery pro uno capellano.

f. 3] Item unus pannus aureus cum uno frontello pro summo altari.

Item unus pannus niger aureus cum tribus frontellis pro summo altari.

Item tria peñ de serico pro summo altari.

Item iiij^{or} bona linthiamina pro summo altari.

Item iiij^{or} simpliciora linthiamina pro summo altari.

Item iiij^{or} vexilla.

Item duo panni pro amboñ.

Item ij tapet^l cum ij bankers.

Item unum principale corporale.

Item quinque alia corporalia pro summo altari.

Item unus principalis calix pro summo altari de dono Willelmi Carletoñ.

Item duo calices pro summo altari.

Item duo calices pro communitate.

Item unum Coupe ex collacione Magistri Ade Devenport Rectoris.

Item duo coupes de argento deaurato.

Item duo chargeours argent^l.

Item duo candelabra argentea.

Item unus calix de argento ex collacione Roberti de Dereham le Cook assignatus parochi ad deserviendum altare sancte Trinitatis aliter dictum Hilbrondes auter.

Item unum thuribulum cum navi de argento.

Item unum thuribulum cum navi argenti deaurati ex

collacione Johannis Latymer et uxoris ejus habens
sex capita leonum ad fumum evacuandum.

Item una crux argentea.

Item unum aspersorium de argento.

Item ij phiole de argento.

Item unum Crismatorium de laton.

Item ij candelabra de stangno.

Item ij paria candelabra portatilia de laton.

Item una crux de laton.

Item duo thuribula de laton.

Item unum lectrinum de laton ex collacione Willelmi
Blakenee.

Item duo coupes de laton pro corpore Christi.

Item ij magne campane.

Item ij parve campane.

Item ij parve campane pro defunctis.

Item unum tintinabulum [*sic*].

Item una campana vocata Sacryng bell.

Item v . pilwes de serico.

Item unum velum xl^{le}.

Item unum novum missale ex collacione Johannis Latymer
et Margarete uxoris sue sub condicione quod eadem
Margareta habeat unum aliud missale ecclesie predictae
ad terminum vite sue pro capellanis suis. Ita quod
post ejus decessu predictum missale eidem Margarete
liberatum dicte ecclesie remaneat imperpetuum.

Item unum missale pro summo altari cum omnibus Gloria
in excelsis per annum in principio ejusdem et iij
novis quaternis in fine libri predicti.

Item duo missalia pro communitate unum de dono Thome
de Jury cujus nomen intitulatur in principio libri
habens tres quaternos novos in fine et aliud missale
habet iiij^{or} quaternos novos in medio.

Item unum manuale cum placebo in principio et Com-
memoracio beate Marie Virginis scilicet *Salve sancta
parens* in fine.

- Fol. 3 b]. Item unum gradale novum ex collatione magistri Rogeri Middleton cujus nomen scribitur in principio et Sequencia · scilicet · *Verbum bonum* in fine.
- Item duo nova gradalia ex collatione Johannis Latymer cujus nomen intitlatur in principio librorum · quorum unum terminatur per missam sponsalium et aliud terminatur per missam sancti lini pape.
- Item tria processionalia.
- Item duo ordinalia quorum unum in magno volumine cum Tonali in fine et aliud minoris voluminis cum omnibus Kyrre qualiter dici debent per annum.
- Item una biba [sic] que finitur cum una addicione que sic incipit *Attende secundum Eusebium*.
- Item una legenda aurea que finitur secundum vitam sancti Ignacij cum hac clausula *Si quis tamen incideret puniretur*.
- Item una legenda de temporali in magno volumine habens in fine septimam lectionem sancti Silvestri pape.
- Item una legenda sanctorum que finitur cum tribus lectionibus ultimis de sancto Ambrosio.
- Item duo portiforia in magnis voluminibus quorum unum habet quaternum novum cum dimidio · inter temporale et Kalendañ et in fine libri servicium de corpore Christi sine nota et aliud habet quaternum novum cum dimidio in medio libri et in fine unum parvum tonale.
- Item duo portiforia in ij parvis voluminibus . quorum [unum omitted] habet in medio diversos quaternos et aliud habet diversa venite in fine.
- Item duo antiphonaria in magnis voluminibus quorum unum habet quaternum novum cum dimidio inter Kalendañ et sanctorum et aliud habet diversos quaternos novos cum diversis addicionibus in medio ante Kalendañ.
- Item unum collectarium habens unam literam Capitalem de auro et aliam literam capitalem de argento.

Item tria psalteria · quorum primum incipit cum servicio
Corporis Christi secundum habet in fine placebo et
dirige et tercium habet omnes lecciones de com-
memoracione beate Marie virginis per totum annum.

Item unum Martilogium novum.

Item unum aliud Martilogium vetus.

Ornamenta pro festo sanctorum

Innocencium et sancto Nicholai.

Inprimis unum vestimentum de panno de serico · scilicet
una casula · ij tunicula · una Capa · tria alba.

Item iiij^{or} Cape pro pueris.

Item una mitra magni precij cum baculo pastoralis.

Item pro altari sancti Nicholai tria fruntella cum lin-
thiaminibus.

Item quatuor panni cum iiij^{or} Ridellys pro dicto altari.

Fol. 4]. Ornamenta pro Capella beate Marie.

Inprimis quatuor vestimenta pro uno capellano.

Item quatuor linthiamina pro altari.

Item iiij^{or} manutergia.

Item duo peti de Serico.

Item unus calix.

Item unum missale.

Item unus pannus de albo cum tapeto et fruntello.

Item unus pannus depictus cum frontello.

Item tria corporalia.

Item j pixis.

Item iiij^{or} pilwes.

Item unum portiforium ligatum cum catenis.

Item duo custodes pro altari.

Ornamenta Cantarie Johannis Cosyn.

Inprimis unum missale ex collacione domini Walteri Leef
Capellani.

Item unum portiforium.

Item unus calix argenti ex collacione Johannis Cosyn.
 Item duo vestimenta pro singulis Capellanis.
 Item duo linthiamina et unum manutergium.
 Item ij fiole et unum superpellicium et unum corporale.

The list of the goods of the church of St. Peter Mancroft which was no doubt made in 1552, with those of other Norwich churches,¹ with a view to their shameful confiscation, not from any religious motives, but "forasmuche as the Kinges Majestie had need presently of a masse of mooney,"² is unfortunately missing. The only document of the time is a memorandum of the total amount of plate sold, apparently in the year 1547. This has been printed before,³ but with a serious error in the total. It is therefore here reprinted from the original in the Public Record Office.

The pish of	}	Richard braye	}	churchwardens.
seint Peter of		John Carre		
Mancroft in		John Blome		
Norwich		George Walder		

We certifie that by the consent and assent of
 thole pish we have sold in plate }
 gilt and parcell gilt eight hundreth } Ciiij xixⁱⁱ xix^a iiij^d.
 and lvij onc' at iiij^a viij^d le onc' Sm^a }

The which Sm^a of monye remayneth
 in oure hand^e to do such necessary
 repara^ons as be nedefull to be doen
 by me John Blome By me George Walder.

¹ See *Norfolk Archaeology*, vii. 45, for those of St. Andrew and St. Mary Coslany. In both cases "ready money" forms the first item on the list of spoil.

² *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, edited by John Roche Dasent (London, 1890), N.S. iii. (1550-1552), 228.

³ In *Norfolk Archaeology*, vi. 365.

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Female Head-dresses exemplified by Norfolk Brasses.

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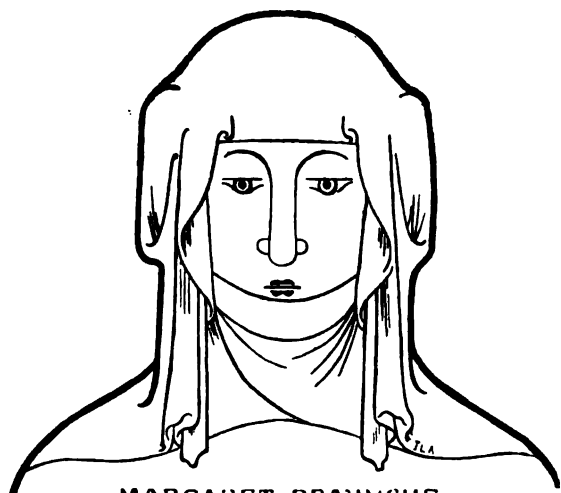
J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

THE unbroken record which monumental brasses present of the variations in costume occurring during the Middle Ages, is one of their most interesting and valuable features, and, in comparison with other lands, England is especially happy in this respect, that our country possesses so many examples of these works of monumental art, that it might truly be called "the land of brasses." Norfolk, and the east of England especially, can boast of a large number of these ancient memorials, and possess several which, more than elsewhere, show peculiarities which prove them to be of local manufacture.

The oldest brass of a female now remaining in our country is at Trotton in Sussex, and 1310 in date, whilst in Norfolk the earliest is the figure of Margaret de Walsoken, at the church of St. Margaret at Lynn, dated 1349. This, although of Flemish execution, shows the lady in a head-dress resembling that exhibited by English brasses of corresponding date, the hair being gathered up in broad plaits, or braids, on either side of the face, a veil being thrown over the head, and which, hanging over the forehead, falls behind on to the shoulders. This veil it was customary to keep in its place by pins, as may be seen on

the sculptured effigy of a lady, supposed of the Gerbrigge family, at Wickhampton. Lastly, the throat of Margaret de Walsoken is enveloped in a whimple, or gorget, and, respecting this article of dress, Quicherat, a French writer on costume, cites several instances how, in that language, up to the seventeenth century the word *gorgerette* or gorget having become *gorgias*, "engendered a whole family of words," including nouns, an adverb, and a verb, and he concludes by saying that "the English have still this expression, which came to them from us—*gorgeous*, that is to say, gaudy, ostentatious.—*Costume en France*, p. 309.

To return from the above digression, in the same church of St. Margaret's, Lynn, are the large figures of Robert Braunche and his wives Leticia and Margaret, dated 1364.

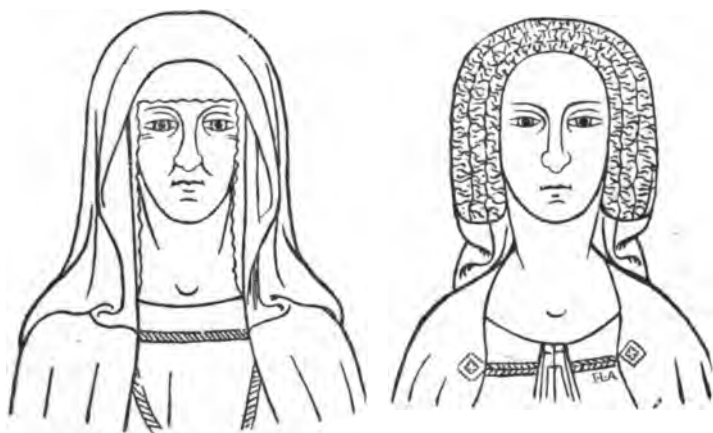


MARGARET BRAUNCHE.

LYNN 1364

Here the hair of the ladies is entirely hidden, and the gorgets cover the chin as well as the throat. These gorgets were of fine white linen, but were occasionally dyed with saffron.

Formerly there was at Ingham the brass of Joan, wife of Sir Miles Stapleton, also dated 1364. Her effigy showed the hair beneath a veil, and the head encircled with a fillet, the tresses being braided and kept in place by long pins. About 1380 in date are two interesting brasses of ladies at Felbrigg, commemorating Alice and Elizabeth, the wives of Symond de Felbrig, and of his son, Roger de Felbrig. Here the first-named lady wears a crimped or goffered cap, covering the forehead, and a veil is over the head and shoulders. The second lady introduces us to the



ALICE & ELIZABETH DE FELBRIGG.

FELBRIGG c^d 1380.

remarkable *nebulée* or reticulated head-dress, in which the hair is encircled in a thin net, shown by a series of wavy or, to use the heraldic term, "*nebulée*" lines, which in this case form three divisions. A veil is not always shown with this form of coiffure, but here we perceive one attached to the back of the head. Sometimes the hair was only partially hidden in this net, the ends of the tresses being caught up in two smaller ones, resting on the

shoulders, and occasionally the lines of the large net are of a zigzag form, as may be seen on the brass of Ismayne, wife of William de Wynston, at Necton, and dated 1372. Another example of the reticulated head-dress occurs on the figure of Cecilia, wife of Sir William Kerdeston, at Reepham, 1391 in date.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century, several types of head-dress appear to have been equally in fashion, and the sculptured effigy of Lady Margaret de Bois, *circa* 1380, at Ingham, has a form of head attire, seen occasionally on brasses, in which the hair is gathered up and hidden under a turban-like structure covered with network, and to which a short veil is attached.

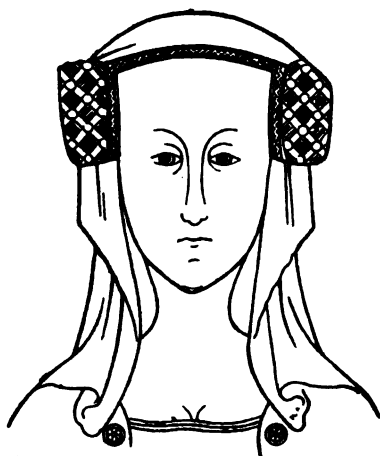
Necton possesses the brass of Philippa de Beauchamp, dated 1383. It shows her in a widow's dress, and will be treated of further on when the subject of widows and vowesses is discussed. An engraving of this brass will be found in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xii. p. 298.

At Southacre the figure of Katharine, wife of Sir John Harsick, 1384, has no whimple or veil, but shows the hair of the scalp, surmounted by a richly-ornamented fillet, whilst the tresses are formed into stiff braids. Similar fillets or coronets were often richly jewelled.¹

A form of head attire, which lasted during the greater part of the fourteenth century, and continued into the middle of the fifteenth, was the crespine, or crestine, variety, in which the hair was confined inside nets of brass or golden wire, a fashion which was not unknown to the Greek and Roman ladies of antiquity; and these cauls were often ornamented with jewels or pearls at the intersections of the meshes. A good example of this head-dress is furnished by the figure of Margaret, wife of Sir Simon Felbrigg, 1416, at Felbrigg, where the hair is seen gathered

¹ Engraved in Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, vol. i. p. clvii.

up into oblong-shaped cauls of rich network, and edged with an ornamental border, which is continued across the forehead, a veil covering the head and falling gracefully on the shoulders. A sculptured effigy at Ashwelthorpe, of



MARGARET FELBRIGG.

FELBRIGG. 1416.

Joan, wife of Sir Edmund de Thorp, of about the same date, shows similar cauls, but of much greater projection; and the brass of Alice de Uvedale, wife of Ralph Shelton, about 1430, at Snoring, shows pads of plaited work, over which is a goffered veil.¹

The gorget was now discarded from the married woman's attire, and confined to that of widows and vowesses, an example of which was to be seen on the brass, now lost, of Lady Ela, widow of Sir Miles Stapleton, *circa* 1425, at Ingham, and which forms plate 20 in Cotman's work on *Norfolk Brasses*.

¹ Engraved in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iii. p. 86.

But, although we find many instances of gorgeous head-dresses on the brasses of fashionable and noble ladies, we meet with others which indicate a more sober and unostentatious attire, as may be seen on the brasses of ladies, *circa* 1410, at St. Stephen's, Norwich¹; at Frettenham, *circa* 1440; and at St. George's Colegate, Norwich, 1461; in all of which a simple veil forms the most prominent feature. A plain coiffure may also be noticed on the effigy of a lady, *circa* 1450, at Stalham.



A LADY.
STALHAM *c.* 1450.

Hoods probably formed articles of feminine apparel at all times; and we have a letter, about 1449 in date, of the Norfolk lady, Margaret Paston, written to her husband, John Paston, whilst he was probably either in Norwich or London, and in which she desires him to "bye a zerd (yard) of brode clothe of blac for an hode for me of xliiii^d or iiiii^s a zerd."²

¹ Engraved in Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, vol. i. p. ccx.

² *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 83, ed. Gairdner.

A remarkable development of the crespine head-dress resulted in that of the horned or mitred one, in which the crespines or cauls were gradually raised higher and higher above the head. An engraving in Cotman (plate 22) of the brass of Cecilia, wife of Sir Brian Stapleton, 1438, formerly at Ingham, gives an example of this fashion, and another still exists at Shernbourne, on the memorial of Jamina, wife of Sir Thomas de Shernborne, 1458, in which she appears in a perfectly plain coiffure of this style. A fine instance of it occurred on the brass, now lost, of a lady, *circa* 1460, at St. Mary Coslany, Norwich, and in which the enriched cauls were composed of perpendicular



MATILDA DOUGHTY.

METTON 1403.



AGNES GREEN.

HUNSTANTON, c. 1400.

divisions. The figure of Matilda, wife of Robert Doughty, 1493, at Metton, shows a slightly horned head gear with an elaborately plaited veil.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century another striking fashion was introduced, namely, the butterfly head-dress, in which the side cauls disappear, and the hair is strained back and gathered up into a larger one or bonnet, leaving the ears exposed, and over which bonnet was stretched a structure of fine lawn, supported by wires. It was early distinguished by the name by which it is still known, as Paradin, a French writer of the period tells us. "By some people," he says, "they were named big butterflies, for they had two large wings, here and there, like the wings of butterflies." This extravagant fashion was much affected by ladies of rank, and may be seen on the portrait of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, forming the frontispiece to the second volume of Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*. It appears also in a representation of Anne, Queen of



JOHANNA CLEDEROW.

NEW WALSINGHAM. 1509.



ANNE HERWARD.

ALDBOROUGH. 1485.

Richard III., decorating the *Warwick Roll*. This head-dress, as figured on the above examples, is a light and airy structure, but on brasses this could not be successfully

rendered, although pains were taken to exhibit the ample wings, for which purpose the figures of ladies were usually turned sideways.

An early approach to the butterfly head-dress was to be seen on the brass of Lady Curzon, 1471, formerly at Belaugh, and in which the back bonnet and a simple veil appear, the latter being extended by wires. Examples in the height of this fashion are to be seen on the brasses of Margaret, wife of Rauf Wyllughby, 1483, at Raveningham; of Ann, wife of Robert Herward, 1485, at Aldborough; of Isabella, wife of William Cheyne, of the same date, at Blickling; and of Margery, wife of Philip Bosard, 1490,



ELIZABETH BERNEY.

REEDHAM. 1474.

at Ditchingham. A curious instance of this attire occurs on the effigy of Elizabeth, wife of John Berney, 1474, at Reedham, it being totally unlike the ordinary form, having a kind of frontlet, as well as the large wings. Agnes, wife

of Edmund Grene, on their brass, *circa* 1490, at Hunstanton, wears a peculiar head gear, consisting of a perfectly plain bonnet, with an equally unadorned veil, which fits tightly round the forehead. Perhaps this was a local custom.

In mediæval head-dresses we frequently find that one fashion overlapped another, so that old and new styles are to be observed on different effigies of the same period.

At Ketteringham, Jone, wife of Sir Henry Grey, Knight, 1492, is seen in a plain veil over slightly raised peaks at the top of the head, whilst two ladies at East Tuddenham, *circa* 1495, appear with a very peculiar arrangement of veil, which seems to be supported by wires, so as to form a kind of canopy.

At the close of the fifteenth century, whilst the hair continued to be confined in a bonnet, the butterfly wings were discarded, and a stiff frontlet placed before the caul, or bonnet. This head-dress is known as the kennel, pedimental, or diamond shaped. An early example occurs on the figure of Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Clere, at Stokesby, 1488, on which her bonnet is not of the usual form, but appears to be gathered up to a point, which ends in a button, in the shape of a rose. The same feature on the effigy of Elizabeth, wife of William Berdewell, at West Harling, appears to be of fur, and there is a frontlet, but not of the kennel fashion. Other examples of this century are at Narborough, on the brass of Ele, wife of Henry Spelman, 1496, where the lappets are unusually wide; at Great Cressingham, on that of Thomasine, wife of Richard Ryshe, 1497, and at Ketteringham, on that of Anne, wife of Thomas Heveningham, of the same date, where the bonnet and frontlet are both richly worked.

The kennel head-dress was worn almost exclusively, and with little variation, during the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, and there are probably more examples

of it on brasses than of any other form. Both lappets and bonnets are mentioned in some wills, as in that of the Margaret Paston before alluded to. It is dated 24 Nov., 1504, and in it she leaves to her daughter, Margaret Browne, her "fruntelet of purpill velvet," and also her "fruntelet of crymson velvet," whilst to her daughter, Elizabeth Whynburgh, is bequeathed another frontlet of crimson velvet, and to her daughter, Anne Lemner, her "best bonnet."¹

As indicated above, the frontlet and the bonnet were separate articles of attire, and both were supported on wire framework. A curious combination of the butterfly and pedimental head-dress occurs on the brass of Johanna, wife of Henry Clederow, 1509, at New Walsingham, where the



ANNE PAGRAVE.

BARNINGHAM NORTHWOOD.
1516.



ANNE DUKE.

FRENZE.
1551.

bonnet is enriched, but the frontlet is plain. The reverse of this is seen on the figure of Ann, wife of Henry

¹ *Paston Letters*, vol. iii. p. 470.

Paggrave, 1516, at Barningham Northwood. Plain pedimental head-dresses are met with on brasses of ladies at Blickling, 1512, and at Feltwell and Merton, both dated 1520. At Frenze is the brass of a widow, Jane Blennerhassett, 1521, where we find, as in other examples, that the lappets and back veil to the bonnet have been filled in with colour. Later examples of the diamond-shaped head-dress are at St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, 1524; Shotesham, 1528; and Weston, 1533.



There was formerly at St. Mary's, Lambeth, Surrey, a brass commemorating Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk, 1545, and who was shown in a kennel head-dress of rich character, but above which was placed, in a most uncomfortable manner, a ducal coronet. An engraving of this memorial will be found in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. viii. p. 40.

Among the numerous brasses at Frenze, is one representing Ann, wife of George Duke, 1551, where the peak and

lappets of the head-dress are curved inwards, and to one of the latter a jewel is suspended, a feature not often met with, but which occurs on a monumental effigy at Goudhurst, Kent, of about the same date, and where each lappet has a cameo, set in gold, fixed to it. Ann Duke, it may be observed, is commemorated on another brass, dated 1577, at St. Margaret's Norwich, in which she wears a Mary Stuart coiffure.

A remarkably plain variation of the kennel head-dress is seen on the brass of Magdalen, wife of John Hook, 1513, at Sheringham, and is similar to one at Billingshurst, Sussex, dated 1499. Another plain head-dress is



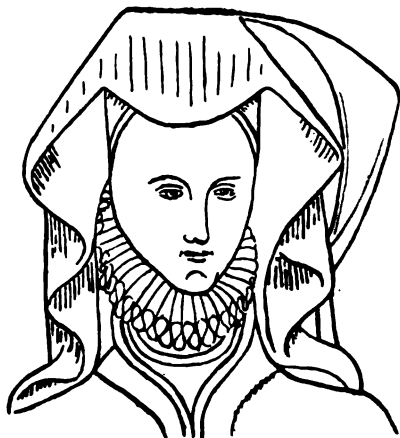
MAGDALEN HOOK.

SHERINGHAM, 1513.

met with on the brass of a female, about 1540 in date, at New Walsingham, and consists of a caul, or cap, over which is a plain hood.



A LADY,
NEW WALSLINGHAM, ca. 1540.



A LADY,
SNETTISHAM, ca. 1570.

Probably the long lappets of the kennel head-dress were found inconvenient, and about 1540 or 1550 began to be pinned up, and gradually the kennel head-dress merged into the one known as the Paris head, French hood, or Marie Stuart. This variety, although not prevalent until the middle of the sixteenth century, was used at Court long before, for Hall the chronicler states that when Henry VIII. kept Christmas at Greenwich, in 1515, there was a pageant, in which six ladies took part with French hoods on their heads. At first the old peak of the pedimental head-dress was retained, as may be noticed in portraits by Holbein of the Queens Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour.¹ An example of the Stuart head gear may be seen on the brass of Anne, wife of Sir Christopher Heydon, 1561, at Baconsthorpe, and in which we find the hair, after its long concealment, again permitted to appear on the

¹ Engraved in Lodge's *Portraits*, vol. i. plates 8 and 9.

heads of married women. The brass of Margaret, wife of Edmund Hunt, 1568, at Hindolvestone, shows a simple veil thrown over the head and shoulders, probably indicating a kind of widow's attire, as her daughters on the same memorial appear in Paris hoods. At Clippesby, Julian, the wife of John Clippesby, 1594, shows a good example of



ANNE HEYDON.

BACONSTHORPE. 1561.



MARGARET HUNT.

HINDOLVESTONE. 1568.

this fashion; and in the noble church at Snettisham lies the figure of a lady, *circa* 1570 in date, which has a veiled head-dress, over which is a large *calash* or hood. These hoods were of black silk, as we learn from the will of Mary Chapman of Bury St. Edmund's, wherein she bequeaths to her daughter Martha, in 1649, her "blacke silke hood."¹ Another example of head attire at the close of the sixteenth century is furnished by the figure of Mary, widow of Robert Rust, 1596, at Necton, where over the

¹ *Bury Wills*, p. 221, pub. Camden Society.

cap there is also the large hood, which hangs down at the back below the waist.¹

Although not incised on brass, the effigies on the slab, commemorating John Pell and Margaret his wife, at Dersingham, and dated 1607, may be mentioned, as that of the lady shows the Stuart head-dress, with the lappet at back, brought, or turned up, on to the top of the head. The brass of Jane, widow of Humphrey Coningsby, 1608, at Felbrigg, wears a costume very similar to that of Margaret Pell, and with a hood similar to that of Mary Rust. Some-



times the edges of these hoods appear to have been trimmed with rich lace, as may be perceived on a brass at Stopham, Sussex. At Snettisham the brass of Anne, wife of John Cremer, or "Cremerus" as the Latin epitaph styles him, dated 1610, shows the lady in a head-dress with wide lappets spreading out on either side.

The latest brass in Norfolk, showing a female effigy,

¹ *Norfolk Archaeology*, xii. 300.

appears to be that of Jane, wife of Sinolphus Bell, 1631, at Upwell.

One form of feminine head-dress varied so little during the middle ages, that it has been thought best to describe it separately. It is the coiffure of nuns, and of widows who had taken a vow of celibacy on the deaths of their husbands, and were known as vowesses. This custom was well known in early times, and in the Anglo-Saxon work called the Benedictional of S. Æthelwold, is a form entitled "Benedictio vestium virginis atque consecratio vestium viduæ." Spenser alludes to such a widow in his *Faerie Queene*, as—

"A mother grave and hore,
Whose onely joy was to relieve the needes
Of wretched soules and helpe the helplesse pore.
All night she spent in bidding of her bedes,
And all the day in doing good, and goodly deedes."

Doubtless there were examples of these "widows indeed," and to one of them we are indebted for the Grammar School at Nottingham. We have records of some of these vowesses in Norfolk, and there are three brasses of such ladies in this county, the oldest being that of Philippa de Beauchamp, 1384, at Necton, already alluded to. This lady, on the death of her husband, May 11th, 1360, made a solemn vow of chastity in the Collegiate Church at Warwick, before the Bishop of Worcester, and her effigy shows her in the habit she then received, namely, a veil, mantle, and gorget, together with a professional ring. In illustration of this custom, it may be mentioned that in 1369, Joan, widow of Simon de Shardlow, professed before the Bishop of Norwich a vow of celibacy, and Sir Simon de Babingle and William de Swinefleete were witnesses to a deed in which the promise of the widow was registered, and to which document she affixed her consent by making the form of a cross upon it.

In the little church of Witton near Blofield, is the brass of a female, showing her in a plain gown and mantle, and with a gorget and veil about her head. There is an inscription beneath the figure as follows:—

Orate pro anima domine Juliane Angell
Votricis cujus anime propicietur deus.

Lastly, we have an example of a vowess in the mutilated church at Frenze near Diss, but which is an edifice rich in brasses. Here the costume of the widow is not so plain as in the preceding instance, as the gown is confined with an ornamental girdle, and has fur cuffs; the mantle also has long cords ending in tassels, and moreover there are three



JOAN BRAHAM.

FRENZE. 1519.

shields of arms over the effigy. The inscription is as follows:—

Hic jacet tumulata domina Johanna Braham vidua ac deo dedicata
Olim uxor Johannis Braham Armigeri que obiit xviii die
Novembris anno domini millimo ccccix cujus anime propicietur
deus Amen.

It will be noticed that each lady is styled *domina*, and correctly so, as a vowess was entitled to be termed Dame, as the wives of Baronets are now. The subject of these consecrated widows has been treated of here somewhat fully, as I am unaware of any brass, out of Norfolk, in which distinct mention is made that it commemorates a vowess. Although most widows were not vowesses, many seem to have worn simple attire, and in this that of the head attire formed part. Some are seen in similar costumes to vowesses, as was the case on the brass, now lost, of Ela, widow of Sir Miles Stapleton, 1425, at Ingham, and still appears on that of Christiana, widow of Robert Baxter, 1432, at St. Giles', Norwich, who wears a very stiff barbe and ample veil. Such attire seems to have characterised the widow down to a late period, and Mr. Cutts, in his *Scenes and Characteristics of the Middle Ages*, p. 156, truly observes that, "In post-Reformation times there are biographies of holy women, which show that the idea of consecrated widowhood was still living in the minds of the people. Probably," he continues, "the dress commonly worn by widows throughout their widowhood is a remnant of the mediæval custom." Some widows appear in plain head-dresses of the prevailing fashion. Thus Margaret Pettwode, on her brass, 1514, at St. Clement's, Norwich, has a plain pedimental head-dress, and a portrait of Margaret of Lancaster, rather earlier in date, exhibits her in a broad plain kennel coiffure, but with face and neck closely whimpled. Many widows seem to have worn a kerchief only over their heads, as seen on the brass of Margaret Hunt, at Hindolvestone. Some widows, as in modern times, seem to have dressed as gaily as married ladies, as witness the brass of Jane Blen'haysett, 1521, at Frenze, who the epitaph tells us was a "wedow."

At St. Stephen's, Norwich, is the brass of Ele Buttry, 1546, who was the last Prioress of Campsey Ash in Suffolk,

but the effigy is of early fifteenth century date, and shows a plain veil. Concerning this head-dress we find that the good nuns had veils for festival and for common use, as in the will of Barbara Mason, Prioress of Marham, dated 1538, she leaves to her "syster, Isabell Mason, ij silv' sponys and my best vayle."¹

Young unmarried women wore their hair long and unconfined in the fifteenth century, as seen on the figure of Cecily Boleyn, 1458, at Blickling, and of Anna Boleyn, 1479, at the same place, though the latter can hardly be called young, for the inscription informs us that she "deceased in hir maydenhode of the age of L yeeres." A lady with very luxuriant tresses is seen on a brass at Felbrigg, *circa* 1480; but in the latter part of the fifteenth



FELBRIGG. ca.1480.



HINDOLVESTONE 1568



ANTINGHAM. 1562.



CLEY-NEXT-THE-SEA.
1512.

century and the earlier portion of the sixteenth, we find many instances in which, whilst the hair falls freely down at the back, a frontlet of the kennel shape is worn.

¹ *Bury Wills*, p. 133.

Excellent examples of this are given us on the brass of John Symondes and his family, 1512, at Cley-next-the-sea. Little Elizabeth Calthorpe, on her father's brass, 1562, at Antingham, wears her hair flowing, but has a fillet round the head, decorated with a brooch or jewel, a fashion not altogether unknown in recent times, a narrow black velvet band, with a small brooch in the centre, having been worn by women in humble life about 1840. The daughters of Edmund Hunt on his memorial, 1568, at Hindolvestone, wear their hair gathered up under the then fashionable Paris hood.

One other form of head-dress remains to have a few remarks devoted to it, as representations of it occur somewhat frequently on East Anglian brasses. It is one worn



AGNES SYMONDES.
CLEY-NEXT-THE-SEA. 1512.

in all ages and in many centuries, by old and young, male and female, whilst, singular to say, none assume it till life has closed. The shroud, it need hardly be said, is here

alluded to, and which appears on the effigies of many Norfolk examples, as at Brampton, 1468; Aylsham, 1499; Kirby Bedon, 1505; Fincham, *circa* 1520; and Loddon, 1546. A late instance, but not of a female, occurs at Bawburgh, 1660, in memory of Archdeacon Philip Tenison, Rector of Hethersett and Foulsham.

A good example is furnished by the brass of John Symondes, before alluded to, 1512, at Cley-next-the-Sea, where both man and wife are in shrouds, and attention is called to their condition by scrolls scattered around them inscribed "Now thus."

In the middle ages the word "attire," or shortened into "tire," was used both as a noun and a verb in connection with head-dresses, and the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures furnishes many instances of this. Thus, in *Ezekiel* we read (ch. xxiv. v. 17) "bind the tire of thy head upon thee," and in *Isaiah* (ch. iii. v. 18) "the Lord will take away thy tire," whilst we are informed in *2 Kings* (ch. ix. v. 30) that "Jezebel tired her head." Spenser also has:—

"On her head she wore a tire of gold
Adorn'd with gems and ouches."

An interesting example of this use of the word "attire" is furnished by a letter of Margaret Paston, written *circa* 1448, concerning the "wedding trousseau" of a bride, "there is," she says "purvayed for her moche gode aray of gownys (gowns) gyrdelys and *atyrys* and moche other gode array."¹

¹ *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 131.

Norwich Militia in the Fourteenth Century.

COMMUNICATED BY

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I.—THE NATIONAL OBLIGATION.

By the Assize of Arms in 1181¹ King Henry II. ordered every adult freeman to provide himself with arms according to the extent of his property. This was a revival of the old English "fyrd," or obligation to military service in defence of the country or in maintenance of internal peace. Though the obligation was never annulled, it naturally fell into disuse while the mass of the English population was hostile to the Norman conquerors. The early Norman kings relied rather on the levies of the followers of their feudal tenants, or even on foreign mercenaries. When Henry revived the practice the two races were becoming fused together. There remained, however, considerable difficulty in blending the national system with the service due to local lords, and more than one re-enactment of the duty was required. A writ of King Henry III. in 1252² re-affirmed the obligation, specifying the age of those liable as between fifteen and sixty years, and defining more minutely the classification according to property. In 1285³ King Edward I., in the important Statute of

¹ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*, p. 371.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

Winchester, once more commanded "that every man have in his house harness for to keep the peace according to the ancient Assize." Some further details of organisation were introduced, and it was ordered that a "View of Arms" should be held in each hundred twice a year.

The principle of obligation to national military service thus repeatedly affirmed has never quite been abrogated, and exists at present in the form of our "Militia." In some other European countries circumstances have required its much more extensive survival. And it may be that in self defence we ourselves may, in the future, be compelled to reassert that a man cannot always claim to put off on others an obligation which rests on all alike.

After the Statute of Winchester another question began to be urgent. Although the King might call upon every adult to prepare for defence and other necessary objects, could he summon them to follow him out of the country? By enactments in¹ 1st and 25th Edward III. it was decided that, except under great urgency, no one should be compelled to serve out of his county. The King, however, with the sanction of Parliament,² might issue a "Commission of Array," authorising appointed persons to press into his service a given number of men from some particular district. They must supply their own armour and weapons, but when they went beyond their own county, or at least beyond the kingdom,³ they were to be at the King's costs.

¹ 1st Edward III. cap. 5; 25th Edward III. cap. 28.

² Gneist, *History of the English Constitution* (tr. Ashworth), p. 288.

³ Among the Lynn archives is an Order of King Edward III. to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Lynn. It is dated from Norwich, 23rd December, 18th Edward III., and in it the King requires 100 armed footsoldiers to be sent to meet him at *Portsmouth*, and go with him at his charges ("a nos gages"). A copy of this Order has been kindly shewn me by Mr. G. G. Coulton of Pentney and Eastbourne, who has recently studied the subject of national military service, and has afforded me much useful help.

The general principles on which this system of national military service was organised, the classification of knights and footsoldiers, and the arms they were required to provide, are plainly set out in the enactments already quoted. But it is always more satisfactory if we can see the proceedings being carried out in specific instances. The records which would enable us to do so in early times are not very numerous, or at least have not been made accessible to the public.¹ The nine documents here dealt with relate to this department of municipal life in the City of Norwich, while the system retained something of its ancient form. Five of them are still preserved. One of these, a return for the Leet of Conesford, is certainly a record of the normal organisation of the men of that Leet for one of the prescribed Views of Arms. Two more, for the Leets of Mancroft and Wymer, though they follow the same lines, have certain noticeable differences. The fourth and fifth, also for the Leet of Wymer, must refer rather to a special Commission of Array. No return for the fourth Leet of the city, the Leet Over the Water, is now in existence. But fortunately, among the miscellaneous loose papers left to the city by Mr. John Kirkpatrick, there has been found an analysis of the documents just mentioned. It appears that in his time (he died in 1725) the missing return was with the others, and he has analysed them all. He also had under his inspection three more documents relating to some special call on the city for armed men. It is strange that though all these nine documents belong to a very limited period in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, it can hardly be said for certain that any two

¹ Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 15, mentions one at Bridport (1319), quoted from *Historical MSS. Commission* vi. part i. p. 491, and another at Reading (1311) from xi. p. 7.

of them belong to exactly the same occasion. The Conesford View of Arms is dated July 27th, 29th Edward III. (1355). The Wymer Roll of "Array" mentions a Bailiff who was elected to the office at Michaelmas, 1359. One of the missing Rolls, analysed by Kirkpatrick, relates to a demand of the King for some armed men at Easter, 33rd Edward III. (1359). The rest have no date, nor any clue to a definite date. But as the principal names in all of them are found in documents of this period, we may assign the whole series to about the time included within the limits of 1355 to 1370.

They fall naturally into two classes. First, there are the four large Rolls, one for each Leet of the city, which give a general view of the city militia. Only we shall notice that while the Conesford Roll seems to take us back to the old "Assize of Arms," the other three seem to shew the older system gradually falling under the influence of the newer development, in the substitution by the leading citizens of armed men and archers in lieu of their own personal service. Such, at least, appears to be the explanation of the different form of enrolment which will be noticed.

The Rolls of the other class relate entirely to the arrangements made for providing special men to serve at the King's demand. They lack, in consequence, the social and economic interest belonging to those which deal with the more complete details of the whole militia system, as carried out in the city.

II.—A XIVTH CENTURY "VIEW OF ARMS."

We will begin with these larger Rolls, and first take the heading of the Conesford Roll,¹ which runs thus:—"View

¹ Roll A, p. 295.

of Arms held before John Bardolf¹ of Wermegeie and his fellows, Justices of the lord King for preserving the peace of the lord King in the County of Norfolk, for the Leet of Conesford in the City of Norwich, on Monday next after the feast of Saint James the Apostle in the 29th year of King Edward the third from the conquest of England." The appointment of leading knights as permanent custodians of the peace in their counties had become an established practice in this reign, and it was natural that the inspection into the way in which the Assize of Arms was being carried out should be committed to them. At present the same powers had not been definitely granted to the leading citizens or burgesses of cities or boroughs; though we gather from the smaller Wymer Roll that the Bailiffs and others were probably associated with the County Magistrates in the View.

It may be as well to observe here, with regard to the "Leets" of Norwich, that although by this time the word was used for a municipal division of the city, in the same sense as "ward" was more commonly used in other places, yet in its origin a Leet was part of a Hundred. The Hundred was the old English division of a County for military, police, and most administrative purposes, and Norwich might have been treated as one of the Norfolk Hundreds. But it was an East Anglian practice to divide Hundreds into minor divisions called "Leets," and these again into smaller sub-divisions. Norwich had for many generations been divided into the four Leets already mentioned, each of which was organised as if a separate Hundred. This is why each Leet made its own return at the View of Arms. The

¹ This John Bardolf succeeded his father at the age of 17, in 1329. He lived till 3rd August, 46th Edward III. (1371). See Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 8vo., vol. vii. p. 495.

four Leets were unequally divided into sub-leets, and this sub-division, as we shall see, formed the basis of the regimental organisation.

As each Leet thus provided a separate quota of the militia to be viewed, it is possible that John Bardolf and his companions may have inspected each of them separately. But the convenience, to say nothing of the attractiveness, of having a general review of the whole at one and the same time is obvious, and in view of the picturesque form in which the Conesford return is made we may be pardoned for making that assumption. Taking that Roll as our guide, we may suppose ourselves to go out on July 27th, 1355, to attend a review of the adult manhood of the "citizenship" of Norwich, equipped for inspection by the appointed official of the King. I will explain afterwards why I think that the Rolls apply to "citizens" and their households, and not to the "non-citizen" inhabitants.

The day selected on that occasion was not one of the notable feast days of the Church. It would be fixed, no doubt, for the convenience of the inspecting magistrates. It must, however, of necessity have been a day of abstention from work or business. We may be sure that the citizen merchants and traders who were called out would not willingly shut up their shops and their market stalls, and leave "foreigners" to have a monopoly of the day's business. It is also reasonable to suppose that the wives and daughters and other admiring friends would come to see their relations in all their bravery, even though the relation could only flourish a stick in the face or plunge a knife into the heart of some imaginary Frenchman. Some of them may have actually tasted the stern reality of war, for the campaign of Crecy and the siege of Calais had taken place only nine years before.

When we reach the ground, we see at once that there are four quotas or contingents, one from each of the four Leets of the city. If they are arranged in the usual official order, Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer, and Over the Water, we should observe that in point of actual size, the two first did not differ much, but in detail of armament they differed greatly. The third, Wymer, would appear to be nearly twice the size of the others, while the fourth was the smallest of all. How each contingent was organised we should hardly know if the Conesford Roll had not happily survived. Nothing can be clearer (except on one or two points) than the picture which the compiler of that Roll has set before us. We will therefore take it first.

It consists of two parts. First are given the names of the armed¹ men and the archers, and then both they and the remaining foot soldiers are, so to speak, marched past as arranged in their various companies and sections under their officers.

The list begins with the names of two constables "fully armed." The armour is specified once for all, and the description applies to all the other "fully armed" men. By the Statute of Winchester, two constables were to be chosen in every Hundred and Franchise, to make the view of armour and to present defaults before the justices assigned. To carry out this order in Norwich would have required either two constables for the whole city, or two for each of the four great Leets. Or, perhaps a third course was the one actually taken. In the Leet Roll for 1288, under the presentments for the Leet of Conesford, is mentioned the imprisonment of a

¹ It is important to observe that by "armed men (*armati*)" throughout these Rolls is meant men who wore *defensive* armour as distinguished from the rest who wore none. The "armour" includes offensive weapons as a necessary equipment for all alike.

man "*ad sectam Hugonis de Bromholm Constabularii de predicta leta.*" The fact that he is not called "*one of the constables,*" and that he acts on his own sole authority, would imply that he was sole constable for that Leet, and that the requirements of the Statute were met by choosing four constables for the city, one for each Leet. Further, in the same roll, under the first of the two sub-leets Over the Water, a certain Simon de Melton is reported for "grievous contempt done to the Bailiffs, because he declined to take the oath when he was elected *sub-constable* by all the jurors," i.e., of the sub-leet. Thus it would appear that while each great Leet had a constable, each sub-leet had a sub-constable. As at that time the great Leet of Conesford was divided into three sub-leets, there would have been in that Leet one constable and three sub-constables. During the first half of the fourteenth century, however, the sub-leets came to be treated more definitely as separate units, and were even called "*Leets.*" The two sub-leets of Conesford were at the same time combined in one, so that three of the great Leets had two sub-leets each, and the fourth had four sub-leets. If we suppose that constables were (as part of this tendency) substituted for sub-constables in the ten sub-leets, this would exactly harmonise with the ten "*constabularies,*" which are found, or implied, in our present Rolls.¹

The names of the two constables for Conesford are William Skie and John de Causton. They were both

¹ On this subject full information will be found in "*Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich*, Selden Society's Publications, vol. v." The map and explanatory table show the Leets and sub-leets. Their names at the time of our Rolls were these—I., The Leet of Conesford contained the sub-leets of (1) Conesford, (2) Berstrete; II., the Leet of Mancroft, the sub-leets of (3) St. Peter, (4) St. Stephen; III., the Leet of Wymer, the sub-leets of (5) St. Giles, (6) St. Gregory, (7) St. Andrew, (8) St. George; IV., the Leet Ultra Aquam, the sub-leets of (9) St. Michael, (10) St. Clement.

well-known citizens. The name of the latter is interpolated in a later hand as captain (on another occasion) of the Berstrete company. We may therefore conclude that he was constable for Berstrete, and William Skie, constable for the sub-leet of Conesford.

After this follow the names of eleven other men "armed in the same manner." The first is "Thomas Cole, one of the Bailiffs of Norwich." There were four Bailiffs elected annually as chief governors of the city, one for each Leet. Thomas Cole, had, the previous Michaelmas, been elected by the citizens of the Leet of Conesford. After his name is written "one archer," meaning apparently that he was bound to bring an archer with him. Another of the fully-armed men and also one of the constables, J. de Causton, have the same addition to their names.

After these thirteen fully-armed men follows a series of nineteen with the heading "half-armed." The armour of the first is described and does not materially differ from that of the fully-armed. The rest are only described as "armed as above."

After the half-armed men comes the heading "Archers." In this Leet there were scarcely any. Only six names are given, and even if the three mentioned above are additional there were only nine. Some of them bear the names of leading families. At least five of them are found in the sections of the Berstrete company.

The Organisation of a Leet Contingent.—We now pass to what is the most interesting feature of all our Rolls, a graphic picture presenting no mere classified list of men according to their equipment, but the whole Conesford battalion arranged in what we may fairly call marching order.

The clerk begins with the special contingent from the sub-leet of Conesford, as distinguished from that of

Berstrete. It consisted of what would now be called a "company" of about a hundred men, under a "centenarius" or captain. The company was sub-divided into five "sections," with about twenty men in each, under an officer called "vintenarius" (from the French "vingt"). The titles of these two sets of officers (which were also used at that time in an army on active service), show that the Conesford company just answered to its normal complement. This raises the important question whether this conformity with a normal organisation was not entirely artificial; in other words, whether the result was attained by calling out, not all who were liable, but as many as were needed to produce the required force. We must bear this question in mind as we examine the contingents sent from the rest of the city.

The name of the "centenarius" was John Mountford. He was one of the fully-armed men on the foregoing list. He carried a spear or lance with a banner ("cum hasta et baner").

The first section of the company was headed by Thomas de Hornyngg, "vintenarius." He, in common with all the "vintenarii," carried a lance with a pennon ("cum hasta et pyncello"). He was one of the half-armed men, and three others of the half-armed men formed part of his section, which numbered just twenty, including the officer. The remaining sixteen wore no defensive armour at all. They all carried a staff and knife, several a sword, and one an axe called a "wyex."

The officer of the second section was Walter Smith, who must be the person entered among the half-armed men as "Walterus Whitbred, vintenarius." He carried his lance and pennon and had two other half-armed men in his section, which contained eighteen more unarmed men, or twenty-one in all.

The third section was headed by John Latimer, a half-armed man, who was followed by another half-armed man, and his section included also the three first names on the fully-armed list, Thomas Cole one of the then Bailiffs of the city being one of them. The section included sixteen others, or a total of twenty-one.

The fourth section had for its "vintnar" William de Bliburgh, one of the fully-armed men, and contained one of the half-armed men and twenty-one others, in all twenty-three. It is noticeable that immediately following William de Bliburgh comes John de Bliburgh, evidently a member of his family, carrying only a sword, staff, and knife, and lower down is Richard servant of William de Bliburgh. Only three "servientes" are mentioned in the Conesford Roll, whereas in the Wymer Roll they are very numerous, and probably in the other two, so far as can be ascertained.

The fifth and last of the sections in the Conesford sub-leet was under John Rokele for its vintnar, one of the fully-armed, and contained another fully-armed man and eighteen men besides, making a total of twenty.

After this we come to the other sub-leet of Conesford Leet, that of Berstrete. The heading is important as containing a statement not included in the general heading of the Roll. It is "View of Arms and of men apportioned¹ to arms in the Leet of Berstrete." The meaning of this "apportionment to arms" must be considered in connection with the other Rolls. The sub-leet of Berstrete furnished a separate company with its own captain or "centenarius." But being not so large as Conesford it had only four sections, and fell short of the full complement of a hundred men.

¹ "Agistatis." See below, p. 280.

The centenar was Thomas de Trous, one of the fully-armed, with his lance and banner ("vexillo").

The vintenar of the first section was William de Mundham, one of the half-armed, and he was followed by twenty-one others, one being a "serviens." Another was a lady, Petronilla de Bokenham, who was charged with the finding of one man with a staff and a knife. She was probably a citizen's widow. Eleven years after this date she was admitted to the citizenship in her own right. Another in this section was one of the archers named at the beginning of the Roll.

The second section was under John de Boyland, one of the fully-armed men. Three of the half-armed were in it, and four of the archers. Thirteen others made up its number to twenty-one.

The third vintenar was Bartholomew de Reppes, a fully-armed man. In his section were two of the half-armed men and eighteen others, twenty-one in all.

The last section, under Francis Spicer, a half-armed man, had in it two other half-armed men and one armed man, whose name is illegible, but is doubtless Henry de Bonyngton, a fully-armed man, the only remaining name on the two lists of armed men to be accounted for. There were also two of the archers and fourteen others, making twenty in all.

To sum up, therefore, the view of the Leet of Conesford, we have (a) in the sub-leet of Conesford one company, under a captain, divided into five sections comprising five vintenars and exactly one hundred men; (b) in the sub-leet of Berstrete one company, under a captain, divided into four sections comprising four vintenars and exactly eighty men. For the whole Leet there are two captains, nine vintenars, and one hundred and eighty men. The "centenarii" and "vintenarii" all wore defensive armour, as did twenty-one others scattered amongst the various

sections. The remaining foot soldiers wore no armour. Seven of them had bows and arrows, the rest carried a miscellaneous assortment of weapons, swords, hatchets, axes, and almost all a staff and a knife. The two constables, who head the list, are not mentioned in the military arrangement.

*The Leet of Mancroft.*¹—Although, as already stated, the Rolls for the other three Leets are not compiled in the same graphic form as that for Conesford, yet we may gather some details from them which may enable us to fill up the picture of our supposed review. The Roll for Mancroft is so defaced as to be almost illegible. It is possible to decipher some of the names, chiefly those of known families, and with the help of the existing Conesford and Wymer Rolls the various weapons carried may be made out. Kirkpatrick has given some of the principal names in his analysis.

No constables are mentioned, and there is no descriptive heading nor date. There were two "centenarii." This is what we should expect, for the Leet of Mancroft was sub-divided into the sub-leets of St. Peter de Mancroft and St. Stephen. There would, therefore, be two corresponding companies. But when we come to the constitution of the companies the only clue we get is that after the names of the "centenarii" come the names of eleven "vintenars." This would indicate that the two companies were sub-divided into eleven sections, which, according to the Conesford example, should have comprised 220 persons. My calculation of the names is 200, exclusive of the officers. Kirkpatrick also gives—"Sum total, 213, whereof two Centenar and eleven Vintenar." This falls short of the proper total by about twenty. Perhaps if the roll were in better order this might be explained. Ten vintenars instead of eleven would make

¹ Roll B, p. 302.

the total more correct. If, however, the numbers show a constitution similar to that of Conesford, the character of the individual men is considerably different. Thirty men are fully-armed, twenty-three are half-armed, fifty-seven carry bows and arrows, and ninety carry the miscellaneous arms mentioned before. Among the last class Kirkpatrick notices that there are "several servants." It is still possible to detect the word in twenty-five cases.

*The Leet of Wymer.*¹—The existing Roll for this Leet, as that for the Leet of Mancroft, has neither descriptive heading nor date; nor is there any mention of "centenarii" or "vintenarii." There are, however, placed at the head of the Roll the names of four constables. It will be observed that they are set in pairs. It appears that the first pair were fully-armed men, and the other pair half-armed. But probably it may have been a mere fancy of the clerk. That the Leet should have four constables is again in accordance with the number of its sub-leets, of which there were four. Following the guidance of the Conesford Roll we should therefore expect to find four companies, with some twenty sections in all, comprising some 400 men. Our expectation is reasonably fulfilled, for the total number, according to my own calculation, is 397, according to Kirkpatrick's, 387. They are made up of 57 fully-armed men, 14 half-armed, 69 archers, and 257 unarmed men. Among the various classes are no fewer than 88 "servientes" with staff and knife, 24 of whom are brought by the archers.

*The Leet Over the Water.*²—For the details of this Leet we have only Kirkpatrick's analysis. It begins like the last, with the constables, who are two in number, again corresponding to the number of two sub-leets. No "centenarius" is mentioned, but six (or seven) names

¹ Roll C, p. 305.

² Roll D, p. 310.

have "vint" in the margin. It is not easy to say how many men the whole contingent comprised. Kirkpatrick begins with a list of thirty-nine names, including those of many well-known citizens. Ten of them are called fully-armed and nine others half-armed. Against the remaining twenty names are set twenty-five "armed men," unnamed. Kirkpatrick assumes that these twenty-five served instead of the twenty, Richard Spynk sending three in his place, John But the same, Edmund Alderford two, and the rest one each. A certain number of unnamed archers are also appended to these names. Then, he said, there followed twenty-six more archers, named, and eighty-one men, all carrying swords, staves, and knives. In all he makes a total of 169 men serving in the Leet. This number of sections and men falls considerably short of the requirements of two companies. But we do not know whether the Roll which Kirkpatrick saw was perfect, and at least the total number of men indicates that there were two companies rather than any other number.

Summary of the Four Leets.—To sum up the evidence of our four Rolls, so far as they relate to the regular organisation of the local militia, we can hardly avoid concluding that in Norwich at this time, a "View of Arms" did not imply the attendance of every adult male citizen, still less every inhabitant. Each of the ten sub-leets of the city provided one "centenary" or company of a hundred men. The full complement of "vintenaries," or sections of twenty men, was not always forthcoming; while beyond the hundred of a "centenary," it was not expected to make provision. In thus basing its arrangement on the sub-leets, the militia system was following the lines of the co-ordinate "Leet" or police system then in operation. This "police" system, though

nominally based, as was the militia, on the four great Leets or administrative divisions of the city, was really worked, as the militia, on the basis of the sub-leets, from each of which a separate presenting jury appeared before the annual Leet Court, so that the sub-leets formed so many distinct "police" districts. Here we find an indication that perhaps the precise militia organisation of our Rolls had not been in operation very long. In the thirteenth century the number of sub-leets (or police districts) had been eleven. There were then, as already observed, three sub-leets in Conesford Great Leet instead of only two. It is uncertain at what precise time the sub-leets of South and North Conesford were combined together. There are no Leet Rolls preserved between 1313 and 1375. The former gives no clue. In the latter the change had been accomplished, as it had also at the date of an Account Roll of 1364. They were still separate in 1290, five years after the Statute of Winchester, so that if our militia organisation had been established at that date there would have been eleven, not ten, "centenaries." It is a possible suggestion that it had quite a recent origin and was part of a fresh start which must needs have been made in every department of city business after the catastrophe of the Black Death in 1349, which according to the best local evidence swept away more than half, perhaps two-thirds, of the lower classes of the population. But I would rather suppose that things had taken a more natural course. A thirteenth-century "View of Arms" would doubtless have been based on the sub-leets, as were the contemporary "police" courts. Each of the eleven sub-leets would have sent its contingent. But it would probably have comprised, in theory, the whole male citizen population responsible under the Assize of

Arms and the Statute of Winchester. By the middle of the fourteenth century, when a general levy for local self defence was a thing of the past, and the local militia was chiefly valued as a recruiting ground for the King's special "Commissioners of Array," the burden of these requirements would naturally lead to their partial neglect. This tendency would operate most of all in a large and free city. Provided the authorities found such men as the King wanted at any given time they would be allowed to manage things their own way. That way would be to assimilate their system to that of the King's army in the field. Hence the systematic organisation we find in our Rolls, superseding the more universal and at the same time more confused gatherings of an earlier period.

III.—SPECIAL COMMISSIONS OF ARRAY.

In considering the process of selecting men-at-arms and the substitution of paid men for personal service, of both which developments we have already found indications, it will be best at once to examine our remaining documents. They are five in number, two being still preserved, the other three only available through Kirkpatrick's notes. More than one of them may perhaps belong to the same occasion, 33rd Edward III. (1359). If so they would relate to the King's preparations in that year to renew the war with France. This date occurs in one of the lost Rolls¹ which is headed, "Names of armed men for the City of Norwich sworn to go out on the service of the Lord King, by mandate of the Lord King, at the feast of Easter in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Edward III." Another,² still

¹ Roll H, p. 318.

² Roll E, p. 312.

preserved, has the following heading, "Array made by mandate of¹ John Bardolf and his fellows Justices by mandate of the Lord King, and by [? oath] of John de Welborne, Bailiff of Norwich, and Hugo de Cantele and Adam Baas, Constables of the said vill, and of Robert de Bumpsted and Walter de Bixtone of the Leet of Wymer, sworn to make the array." A third,² on the dorse of the same Roll, has, "Array and Agistment of armed men and archers in the Leet of Wymer, in the City of Norwich, in the presence of John Bardolf and his fellows Justices of the Lord King, to array men-at-arms and archers in the County of Norfolk, etc." John de Welborne,³ mentioned here and in the larger Wymer Roll, as Bailiff, was elected to that office at the Michaelmas succeeding the Easter just mentioned (1359). The fourth⁴ of these documents contains an assessment of various citizens in the four Leets for the provision of armour. The fifth⁵ also contains a list of certain citizens, with various pieces of armour which apparently each of them had provided.

We have here to deal, not with a View of Arms, but with a process described by the two words "Arrayacio" and "Agistacio." Neither of these words seems here to be used in its most common sense. "Arraiare" usually means "to set in military array," and "agistare," to "apportion the numbers of heads of cattle a man may turn into a common ground." These are plainly not the

¹ According to the similar headings we should have expected to find "in the presence of John Bardolf," &c.

² Roll F, p. 314.

³ Two persons of this name were among the leading citizens at this time. They were distinguished as John de Welborne "de mercato," and John de Welborne "de cueria" or "del Tumlund." The Cueria, or Cook Row, was between Tomblond and Fye Bridge and in the Leet of Wymer. This latter, therefore, is the one mentioned here. He was elected Bailiff at Michaelmas, 1359, and again in 1361 and 1365.

⁴ Roll G, p. 316.

⁵ Roll K, p. 319.

uses here. The meanings may be fairly arrived at from these and other local documents. The word "array," though dealing with military matters, was not used in its military sense, but in the legal sense of setting in order or drawing up a list of persons to serve on juries. As in the Statute of 42nd Edward III. cap. 11, the Sheriff is enjoined to "arraie the panels in assises" four days at least before the Sessions of the Justices, *i.e.*, to draw up lists of jurors for the inspection of the parties concerned, so the "Array" of our Rolls seems to have been first of all a muster-roll or list of persons liable to the obligation in question. A person thus enrolled was said to be "arrayed" or entered on the "array." After that it came to mean the list of men and archers finally selected to serve, and even the calling them out to service. Similarly the word "agistare" contained the idea of apportionment as in its manorial use, but what was apportioned was a personal or pecuniary liability, and so it passed into much the same meaning as to "assess." Thus when the King demanded a "balinger" or war vessel from the citizens of Norwich, we find on 4th January, 1378, at the meeting of the Municipal Assembly, two citizens chosen from each Leet "*ad agistandum pro dicto Balenger' unum tax'*," and immediately afterwards mention is made of an account to be rendered of this tax "*agistat' et levat'*" (assessed and levied). Both words, however, seem to have been used for the process of getting selected men without much regard to distinction of meaning. Here in our document F we have the Justices coming "*ad arrayandum homines ad arma et sagittarios.*" In the Assembly Roll of 1386 we read, "*Lectum fuit breve domini Regis ad agistandum homines ad arma & sagittarios.*" In the first entry of Roll F both words are used, "*Johannes de Hevyngham agistatus &*

arrayatus est ad unum hominem peditem armatum, &c." I take it that the clerk had no clear idea of the distinction between the words, or he would have reversed their order. The meaning must be that this citizen was entered on the array, and specifically assessed at the obligation of finding one armed man.

This entry is also interesting as shewing us perhaps the first step in the new development of military obligation which was taking place. After describing the armour to be worn by the "armed man," it continues thus—"And because the said John is too feeble to labour at carrying his arms, let there be assigned in his place [.]"¹ From this it appears that when the King demanded an armed man, and a certain citizen was declared to be liable, the custom of the city required him to go himself, or give a valid excuse for finding a substitute. We may well suppose, however, that such excuses became a mere pretence. This excuse is only once entered again. It must be admitted that there was another side to the question. The King wanted able-bodied soldiers, and his Commissioners were bound to satisfy themselves. Sometimes they may have doubted. Hence, perhaps, in an entry on Roll E, where John Gernoun and three others were responsible for one armed man, it is added, "and the said John is able in body to bear the arms." In these two Wymer Rolls, which give the names of the substitutes, it is generally a "serviens" who takes the place of the responsible citizen, but sometimes a brother.

We may here return to our four large Rolls, and enquire whether, besides being records of the organised City Militia, they were also used for the purpose of selecting men when required. We have seen that the substitution of others for personal service appears to be expressed in

¹ The name is not entered.

the Roll of the Leet over the Water. The inclusion of the large number of "servientes" in the Wymer contingent may have been to train them for future service. Even in the Conesford Roll we have in the heading of the Berstrete sub-leet the expression "et de hominibus agistatis ad arma." This can only refer to the "armati" in the succeeding sections, whose names have already been entered on the lists of armed men at the head of the Roll. As there is nothing to suggest that these men were armed for any other reason than because they were liable under the requirements of the Assize, it would seem that "agistati ad arma" here means "assessed as being under the obligation to provide armour," either as fully-armed or half-armed men. However this may be, at least we may conclude that the lists kept for the purposes of the Views of Arms would furnish the basis for a special Array, and that probably these four returns were all compiled with the double object in view.¹

When the required number of armed men was found, the practice must have been to make a valuation of the required armour, and charge it *pro rata* on the citizens "arrayed and agisted." Kirkpatrick's Roll H gives the names of five "Valuers of the Armour," and also the numbers of the various pieces provided. His Roll G is a list of citizens in the four Leets with the amounts at which they were assessed for armour, and his Roll K is a list of "Arms received and valued," with the names of the persons who had sent them in. It appears that the citizens chargeable sent in arms which, if accepted, were valued and the price allowed towards their liability. The only values mentioned are "10 dublets, £1. 11s.," or about 3s. each, and "2 bacinets with aventails, 14s.," or

¹ See the Order of 1359, p. 312, note 1.

7s. each. According to these values the equipment of an armed man would amount to 20s. or more.

The number of men provided by the city in Kirkpatrick's Roll H is given by him as "in toto 96." In the Wymer Roll E eighteen armed men are provided, and thirty-six others unarmed. Of these, two are called "archers," five others have only bows and arrows, nine carry various weapons, and twenty have nothing but the ordinary staff and knife. In Wymer Roll F only thirteen armed men and one archer are mentioned. These two latter Rolls however must surely be imperfect. On more than one occasion the royal demand on Norwich was for 120 men. In 1385 and 1386 are some interesting notices in the Assembly Rolls. On 23rd August, 1385, was read a "Letter Patent from Robert Knoll, William de Brembre, Mayor of London, and William de Walworth, for ships, barges, balingers, and mariners to go into the parts of Flanders, and it was agreed by the whole commonalty for forty armed men and forty archers and forty mariners, and a tax of a double tenth was granted to be levied as quickly as might be, and the taxers were elected (two for each Leet)." On August 29th a further letter was read from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Winchester [? concerning three] ships and three barges, each of the ships with forty men at arms and forty archers, and each of the barges with [? 30] men at arms and thirty archers with double equipment both ships and barges." The only step then taken was to agree that "the armed men, archers, and mariners should wear slops and hoods¹ of white and red *party*."² On September 1st a citizen, Walter de

¹ "Slopp' et Capucia," frocks or tunics and hooded head coverings."

² "De albo & rubeo bipartit'"—of white and red divided vertically in two equal parts.

Bixton, was chosen to go to London to make answer in the name of the commonalty to the Archbishop and the two Bishops. Whether this transaction led to any result does not appear. The next notice seems to refer to something different. On June 14th, 1386, a writ is read from the king to "agist" men at arms. On August 18th it was agreed that the four Bailiffs, and two citizens from each Leet, should select forty armed men and eighty archers, and value their wages. On this occasion it seems that the citizens had to find not only the equipment but also the wages perhaps to the coast.¹ They were to serve at a distance, for on September 11th the armed men and archers selected "ad proficiscendum" were ordered to be "ready at [? the Chapel of St. Mary] in the Fields on Monday next."

In Kirkpatrick's Roll G the sum total of the armour required is set down at £61. 14s. 6d., which might be the cost of equipment of forty armed men.

IV.—THE SOCIAL CONDITION, &c., OF THE MILITIA MEN.

There is one other matter on which something may be said. Were those who attended a View of Arms citizens and their households, or were some of them inhabitants who had not sought admission to the freedom of the city? And, again, what social rank did the different classes of men occupy? There is no definite evidence to enable us to answer the first question with any degree of assurance. But the probability seems to be that citizens alone were being dealt with. The Assize of Arms very distinctly says, "The

¹ See the case of Lynn, p. 264, note 3.

king has enjoined that none should be received to the oath of arms except a freeman." And although the writ of 1252 adds to "the citizens and burgesses" not only "freeholders" (i.e. in the country), but also "villains and others," this is, I think rightly, understood by some to refer only to such "villains and others" as held lands above a certain value as sub-tenants.¹ It is clear that the obligation to provide armour, and to be "sworn to arms," was associated with the holding of property, however small. Its object was not only to fight for the country but to do the police work of keeping the peace, and the persons on whom this duty was charged were thereby recognised as responsible and trustworthy. On these grounds we may reasonably conclude that the men sworn to arms in a borough or a city would not be every irresponsible male adult, but the burgesses and citizens, the male adult members of their families, and perhaps the men of their household.

So far as our records go, there is scarcely a name amongst the fully-armed and half-armed men which is not familiar to a student of contemporary local documents as that of a leading actor in civic life, and therefore unquestionably a citizen. The lists of admissions to the freedom are very defective, and many of their names are not to be found there. On the other hand, not a few of them occupied the office of Bailiff, many are found among the surviving lists of the twenty-four annually-elected citizens, and others are found appointed on municipal committees. Even without this evidence we should naturally surmise that the armed men (who served in their own right) were the leading citizens. But we cannot, therefore, draw too precise conclusions as to the social condition of the city. The two classes of armed

¹ Gneist, *Const. Hist.*, p. 287, "free tenants in villainage."

men ought to correspond to the property qualifications of the Statute of Winchester. These, in regard to persons who, like citizens, were estimated according to their property in goods and not in land, were three,¹ (1) those who possessed 40 marks in goods (£26. 13s. 4d.) were to provide themselves with an hauberke, an helme of iron, a sword, a knife, and a horse; (2) those who had 20 marks (£13. 6s. 8d.) were to have an hauberke, an helme of iron, a sword, and a knife; (3) those with less than 20 marks in goods, to have swords, knives, and other less weapons. This classification would seem to explain the three divisions of our rolls—(1) the fully-armed men, (2) the half-armed, and (3) those who wore no defensive armour. Though no horses are mentioned in the rolls, and the Conesford fully-armed men are entered in the sections of foot soldiers at the View of Arms, yet we know that leading citizens of all kinds must have possessed horses. But while the Statute was no doubt the cause of the three-fold division, it would be a mistake to assume that we can credit the members of each division with just the scale of property there expressed. There is evidence that the assessment of individuals in the city (for whatever purpose) was based on the total amount required for a "king's tenth." This, which was a tax irregularly demanded by the King, had formerly been estimated by making constant assessments of a person's movable goods, a tenth being demanded from cities, boroughs, and places on the King's demesne, and a fifteenth throughout the rest of the country. At the time of the Statute of Winchester, therefore, a citizen's payment to that tax multiplied by ten ought to have given the amount of his taxable property. But we may suspect that in this, as in other matters, large towns were early allowed to make a composition, and levy it in their own way. In 1334

¹ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 474.

this convenient arrangement was sanctioned throughout the country. The city of Norwich was then assessed at the fixed sum of £94. 12s. 0d.¹ Now we have just seen that when money was wanted in 1385 for special military purposes the Assembly ordered a tax of a double tenth (*i.e.*, £189. 4s. 0d.) to be assessed and levied as soon as possible. The assessment thus ordered would be made on the supposition that the total rateable value of the whole city for all or any purposes was to be taken as £946, individuals paying *pro rata* on that basis. An existing account roll of about the same date as our documents, called "The payment of 500 marks," is evidently also based on this foundation, the highest and lowest limits of the sums mentioned being almost exactly proportionate with those found in the only complete tax-list for the city in early times, that for a tenth in 1332.² The amount then paid was £82. 18s. 6d., a little less than the amount permanently fixed two years later. If we examine that list we find that the largest payers are two who paid £2, representing nominally a property of £20; one paid 30s., and two others 26s. 8d. That is, not one citizen would have been liable to the requirements of the first class of armour, and only five to those of the second. Even if we allow for the increased assessment of 1334 it would only take in two more, who pay 24s. Of course it is plain that such an assessment gave no correct measure of the actual property of the taxpayers. It only expresses the proportions they paid towards a fixed sum of £94. We are therefore reluctantly obliged to relinquish any endeavour to draw a comparison between the numbers of armed men serving in the Leet contingents, and any existing evidence as to the wealth of individual citizens. In what way it was decided that a man should take on himself

¹ See *Norfolk Archaeology*, xii. 288.

² Public Record Office Lay Subsidy 149.

the obligation of being fully armed or half armed, or of providing one or two armed men or an archer, we have no means of knowing. There is a curious entry in the Assembly Roll for 1369 to the effect that "the citizens discussed a certain letter of the Earl of Suffolk touching the amending of the array (*tangentem aracionem meliorandam*).¹ Those present were apparently a special committee of one Bailiff, some constables, and two men from each Leet. No further step is recorded.

The total number of armed men named (apart from those sent by, or as substitutes for, others) is 196, of whom 32 are in Conesford, 60 in Mancroft, 65 in Wymer, and 39 in Over the Water. They may not all have been heads of households, but there must have been at least 150 families in the city of equal rank with the knights and gentry of the county.

When we come to the class which wore no defensive armour, our attention is at once attracted to the archers. They are put forward to a great extent as a separate branch and as though they took precedence of the rest of the class. This is not so in the Statute of Winchester, which runs thus: "He that hath less than 20 marks in goods shall have swords, knives, and other less weapons; and all other that may shall have bows and arrows out of the forest, and in the forest bows and boults." This seems to place the archers quite at the bottom of the scale. But the clause is copied from the writ of 1252,¹ in which the last class of holders of chattels was divided

¹ The French text of the Statute of Winchester (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 472) has "Et tuz les autres qi aver pount, eient arcs, &c." The writ of 1252 (*ibid.*, p. 372) has "Omnes etiam illi qui possunt habere arcus—habeant, &c." The compilers of the Statute seem to have read "alii" instead of "illi" in the previous writ. But as the writ had already assigned bows and arrows to the holders of 9 marks, the reading "illi" must be correct.

into two classes, (a) those who had between 9 marks and 20 marks, and (b) those who had between 40s. and 10 [*sic*] marks. The former were to have sword, knife, bow, and arrows; the latter were enjoined to have bows and arrows if they could. In the interval between 1285 and our rolls archery had become vastly more important, and it is plain that the Norwich archers were many of them men of good standing. In Wymer, for instance, Thomas de Hethel is followed by two servants, Walter de Berneye by one, William atte Lane by three, Reginald Smith by two. Again, among them are a mercer, a painter, a tailor, a latoner, and even a goldsmith. The latter has the name of one of the wealthiest families in the city. So, too, among the fully-armed men Geoffrey de Hapton takes with him Stephen his brother as an archer.

Even what we should have supposed to be exclusively persons of very small means, those who carried no more than the staff and knife, were evidently not all to be described under that category. If we take the earliest names (after the archers) on the Wymer roll, among those who are thus scantily provided there is a mason, a tailor, a cordewaner, a hosteler. Nor can it be said that their want of better weapons proves their poverty in spite of their occupation, for John de Colney, cordewaner, who is thus armed, has his servant William with him similarly provided. The next man also has his servant with him. Further on, John de Blofeld, "taliour," with only a staff and knife, brings his three servants,¹ Henry, Peter, and Adam, each with similar weapons. So with

¹ The word "serviens" sometimes means "apprentice." But it can hardly have that meaning in this case, and in the Leet Roll of 1375 "apprenticius" and "serviens" are clearly distinguished. These servants would probably not be mere day labourers, but regular members of the employer's household.

many others. It is manifest that if a man was not obliged to provide himself with armour, he might come with the very simplest provision without any discredit.

This mixture of social condition in the lowest rank of the militia organisation need cause no wonder, for the Conesford Roll makes it clear that a section, when at a View of Arms, was composed of all classes of men, with a variety of equipment. A possible explanation suggests itself. A sub-leet from which a separate company was formed was only a small portion of the city, and in many cases of very limited area. All the inhabitants, with few exceptions, must have been known to each other. If within this limited area the sections were taken from still more limited localities, the component members would belong to a comparatively few neighbouring houses and be a sort of family party. Beyond this supposition, however, we cannot go. We cannot identify sections with tithings, for every sub-leet contained at least twelve tithings,¹ which does not harmonise with five sections. Nor could the sections have had anything to do with parishes, for the number of parishes in a sub-leet varied from one to ten. The sectional areas, if they existed, must have been arranged artificially—as a street, or a group of houses.

V.—THE ARMOUR AND WEAPONS.²

A short statement with regard to these will be held sufficient.

The *Head and Neck*.—All the armed men without exception had their heads protected with a “bacinnet.”

¹ Hudson, *Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich*, pp. xvi.—xviii.

² This information is chiefly derived from Fairholt, *Costume in England with Glossary*, and Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, vol. ii. I have also to acknowledge some kind explanations received in a conversation with Lord Dillon, President of the Society of Antiquaries.

This was a bason-shaped head covering of metal. It was in all cases provided with an "aventail," the movable front which covered the face and could be raised when not in use. The "umbrer" mentioned in Roll K was an additional piece at the top of the aventail. The fully-armed men also wore a "pisan," which was a metal covering for the neck.

The *Body* armour was rather more varied, but in general consisted of two parts; (a) there was an under garment fitting tightly to the body, and chiefly made of leather. It was called a "doublet," from being of double material stuffed; or a "purpoint," from being quilted and stitched; or an "acketon"; (b) over this was a metal protection, consisting of a "plat" or breastplate. In Roll K a "pair of plates" is mentioned, one in front, the other behind the body. Instead of the plate was sometimes used a "hauberk or haubergeon," a coat of mail. The Centenar of Mancroft had also a "paunse de maille," a shirt of mail worn between the doublet and the plate. The Mancroft armed men have a piece, the name of which is written by Kirkpatrick uncertainly as "braċ or braš." If the former it might be a "breech-piece," which came below the hauberk; if the latter it may be sleeves of mail. Mailed armour was by this time becoming somewhat old fashioned.

The *Arms* and *Hands*.—The arms were protected by pieces called in these Rolls "bratz," usually brassarts. They are further described as consisting of "vantbras," a piece for the fore-arm from the wrist to the elbow, and "rerebras" from the elbow to the shoulder. They were either of mail or of steel (de ascier). Sometimes as in Roll K a pair is mentioned, i.e., one set for the front of the arm, the other for the back of the arm, which last would be worn inside the sleeve of mail if one were worn. The "coters de fer" of Mancroft and

Roll K were elbow pieces of iron, and, perhaps, the "lunett" once mentioned in Roll K were roundels¹ or discs, which formed part of the "coudiere." On the hands were worn gauntlets of plate or iron ("cerotece de plat," or "de fer").

The *Legs*.—No mention is made of any defence for the legs or feet, perhaps because all the men dealt with were foot soldiers.

The *Surcoat*.—This, which is only mentioned in the Mancroft Roll, must no doubt have been also in use in the other Leets, and furnishes an interesting detail. It is there called "tunic arma^l rub," a red tunic of arms. It is included in the armour not only of the officers but of all the armed men. It was worn over the armour, not for defence except to ward off the rays of the sun, but for distinctive ornament, and as the tabard of a herald or knight was elaborately ornamented with heraldic devices. The Norwich colour was red, as here described. We have seen that in 1386 the Assembly ordered that the men at arms, archers, and mariners should have slops and hoods of party-coloured red and white.² No mention is made of any special device. But probably some distinctive armorial bearing was worn, as appears from the item entered on Roll G. "For blasons and spears, £11. 12s. 0d.," which might refer to providing spears or lances for the officers, and embroidering the city emblem on their banners, and also on the tunics of the men at arms. What the emblem was we have no means of guessing.

The *Weapons*.—The only weapons mentioned as carried by the armed men are the spears of the officers, and for the others a sword and "coutell." This latter and the "baculus" were the two weapons almost universally

¹ Hewitt, ii. 166.

² See p. 284.

carried by the unarmed foot soldiers. Their exact character seems somewhat doubtful. In the case of the officers, the "cutellus" was probably a dagger, but among the ordinary soldiers of the local militia it was more likely to be the knife, which was a necessary article of personal equipment for domestic and all other purposes. Similarly the "baculus" or staff may not have been alike in all cases. Sometimes it may have assumed the form of a spear, at other times of a heavy-headed mace or club.

Several forms of axes are mentioned, which may be taken to be implements used in different crafts, as the hatchet (*hachia*) or the *wyax* (? a double-headed axe, Latin, "*bipennis*"). The pole axe (*pollex*) with its long shaft, and the "*spartha*," said to be an Irish axe, must have been more specially constructed for offensive use. With these may be classed the "*gysarm*," which was a scythe-shaped weapon on a long handle.

Two special weapons, both occurring in the Leet of Mancroft, are worthy of notice. 1. Among the unarmed men occur Adam de Porynglond who himself carries a sword and a knife and brings a servant with a knife and staff, and also John Spicer who has a sword and a knife. Both of them were leading citizens, and each of them brought "*gunarium cum pulvere*," a gunner with powder. These men must have attracted great attention, for firearms were of quite recent introduction in England. 2. The other unusual weapon is perhaps of even more interest to Norwich readers. The very last man on the Mancroft list, and one other some way up, carried a sword, a knife, and a "*wefle*." This was the weapon carried in later days by the well-known "*whiffles*," to whom it gave their name. They walked in the procession of St. George's Guild (which became the municipal procession) in front of the Dragon, and

cleared the way by flourishing their whiffles in all directions. The whiffle has sometimes been described as a sword, but as these two men carried a sword, the "wefle" was evidently the substitute for the "baculus" or staff universally carried by the others.

ROLL A.

A VIEW OF ARMS IN THE CITY OF NORWICH
FOR THE LEET OF CONESFORD, 1355.

Visus armorum coram J. Bardolf de Wermegeie et Sociis suis Justiciariis domini Regis ad Pacem domini Regis conservandam in Comitatu Norff^e de Leta de Conesford in Ciuitate Norwici factus die lune proximo post festum sancti Jacobi apostoli Anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu Anglie xxix^{mo} [27th July, 1355].

Constabular' plene armat'.

Willelmus Skie unus constabularius armatus cum dublet plat' bacinett' cum pisan & Aventail & bratj & cerotecis.

Johannes de Causton alter constabularius armatus eodem modo j sagitt'.

Plene armati.

Thomas Cole unus Ballivorum de Norwico armatus eodem modo j sagittar'.

Rogerus Midday armatus ut supra.

Johannes Midday armatus ut supra.

Willelmus de Blibourgh armatus ut supra.

Johannes Rokele armatus ut supra.

Guydo de Burdeaux armatus ut supra.

Johannes Munfort¹ armatus ut supra.²

¹ It is curious that in a deed of 13th March, 1354, the "Exors of John Mounfort" are mentioned. But although the word "dead" is here inserted in the margin, it seems that the armed man so named was really acting as "centenarius" at the date of the heading of the roll (27th July, 1355).

² Added in another hand, loco suo Robertus Papyngay.

Thomas de Trows armatus ut supra.
 Henricus de Bonyngton armatus ut supra.
 Johannes de Boyland armatus ut supra j sagitar'.
 Bartholomeus de Reppes armatus ut supra.

Dimid' armat'.

Thomas de Hornyng, vintenarius, armatus cum dublett' plat' bacinett'
 cum Avental & cerot' de plat'.
 Walterus Whitbred, vyntenarius, armatus ut supra.
 Johannes Latimer, vyntenarius, armatus ut supra.
 Willelmus de Mundham armatus ut supra.
 ffranciscus Spicer, vyntenarius, armatus ut supra.
 Nicholaus Stotere armatus ut supra.
 Henricus Nagon armatus ut supra.
 Gilbertus Sadeler armatus ut supra.
 Johannes de Toftes armatus ut supra [plene armatus¹].
 Robertus de Melton armatus ut supra.
 Thomas Soutere armatus ut supra.
 Johannes Bulneys, hosteler, armatus ut supra.
 Thomas de Lopham armatus ut supra.
 Johannes de Ware armatus ut supra.
 Radulfus de Kesewyk armatus ut supra.
 Hugo Cursjoun armatus ut supra.
 Willelmus de Sporle armatus ut supra.
 Alexander de Melton armatus ut supra.
 Nicholaus de Stoke armatus ut supra.

Sagittar'.

Willelmus de ffretun Arcus sagitt' gladius & cutell'.
 Willelmus Hampyng ut supra.
 Rogerus Cob ut supra.
 Bartholomeus Broun ut supra [armatus¹].
 Henricus Skye ut supra [armatus¹].
 Walterus clericus ut supra.

[THE SUB-LEET OF CONESFORD.]

[Centenarius.] Johannes Mounfort,² centenarius, armatus ut supra cum hasta & Baner.

¹ Added in another hand.

² In another hand, Jacobus de Blielyng.

ntenarius.] Thomas de Hornyngg, vyntenarius, armatus cum hasta & pyncell'.

Henricus Noggon ut supra armatus.

Gilbertus Sadeler armatus ut supra.

Johannes Mareschal cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Nicholaus Stotere ut supra armatus.

Johannes de Honyngham wyex gladius & cutell'.

Ricardus Taillour cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Robertus Robleyerd cum baculo & cutell'.

Thomas Potag' cum baculo & cutell'.

Rogerus Gyze cum baculo & cutell'.

Galfridus serviens de Brisele cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes de Elmham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Skynnere cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus de Burdeux cum baculo & cutell'.

Simon Prest cum baculo & cutell'.

Adam Glaswrighte cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Thomas Yonge cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Cobeler cum baculo & cutell'.

Edmundus Smith cum baculo & cutell'.

Ricardus de Peyte cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

ntenarius.] Walterus Smith,¹ vintenarius, armatus ut supra cum hasta & pyncell'.

Galfridus Craddok cum wyex gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Toftes armatus ut supra.

Willelmus de Alderforth cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes Webbester cum baculo & cutell'.

Robertus Vyne cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Mous cum baculo & cutell'.

Ricardus Dauber cum baculo & cutell'.

Alexander Derham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Gerneys cum wyex gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Buri cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes de Elmham, taillour, cum baculo & cutell'.

Ricardus Thaxtere cum baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus de Erpynggham cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes de Bulneys armatus ut supra.

Henricus Bacoun cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Ric'us Grout, Redere, cum baculo & cutell'.

Rogerus Sappe cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

¹ In another hand, Robertus Papyngay.

Longe Jon cum baculo & cutell'.

Henricus taillour cum baculo & cutell'.

Robertus skepperer cum baculo & cutell'.

[Vintenarius.] Johannes Latimer, hosteler, vintenarius, armatus ut supra cum hasta & pincell'.

Robertus de Melton armatus ut supra.

Willelmus Maszoun cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Cobelere cum baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Hirde . . (?) cum baculo & cutell' [*added, arcu & sagittis*].

Henricus taillour cum baculo & cutell'.

Semannus Botman cum baculo & cutell'.

Petrus Dull cum Gysarm & gladio & cutell'.

Rogerus Midday armatus supra.

Thomas Cole armatus supra.

Johannes Midday armatus supra.

Willelmus Lakyngheth wyex gladio & cutell'.

Henricus serviens dicti Willelmi baculo & cutell'.

Johannes Pays cum baculo & cutell'.

Thomas Love cum baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus de . . . buri cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes de . . . eston cum baculo & cutell'.

[Four more names follow, illegible, all with staff and knife.

Dorse of Roll.

Adhuc de Leta de Conesford.

[Vintenarius.] Willelmus de Bliburgh,¹ vyntenarius, armatus cum hasta & pynceell'.

Johannes de Bliburgh cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Thomas Souter armatus ut infra².

Thomas of the Pyhtel cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes Baroun cum baculo & cutell'.

Hugo de Brundal cum hachia gladio & cutell'.

Adam Bultermouth cum baculo & cutell'.

Ricardus ffarwel cum hachia gladio & cutell'.

Walterus Cartere cum hachia gladio & cutell'.

Johannes Litster cum baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Clerk cum baculo & cutell'.

Philippus Bray cum hachia gladio & cutell'.

Alanus Olericus cum baculo & cutell'.

¹ *In another hand*, Adam Gray.

² "Infra" means "within," i.e., or the front or inside of the Roll.

Johannes Humberlond cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus serviens Willelmi Bliburgh cum baculo & cutell'.
 Rogerus Wathe cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Keep cum hachia & cutell'.
 Willelmus Byng cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Willelmus gardiner cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Baxter cum hachia gladio & cutell'.
 Ricardus Baxtere cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes cum wyax gladio & cutell'.

centenarius.] Johannes Bokele, vintenarius, armatus cum hasta & pyncell'.

Guido de Burdaux armatus ut infra.
 Radulfus de Stoke cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Walle cum baculo & cutell'.
 Henricus de Wylton cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Nicholaus de Chichestre cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Peny cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Johannes Crowe cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Chelyng cum baculo & cutell'.
 Nicholaus Gardiner cum baculo & cutell'.
 Rogerus Selot cum baculo & cutell'.
 Galfridus de Chichestre cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Willelmus Rokel cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Barfot cum baculo & cutell'.
 Adam Piper cum wyax & cutell'.
 Johannes Mirield cum baculo & cutell'.
 Robertus Mismay cum baculo & cutell'.
 Elyas Botman cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Walterus Bailk cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Walterus de Chestre cum baculo & cutell'.

[THE SUB-LEET OF BERSTRETE.]

*Visus armorum & de hominibus agistatis ad arma
 in leta de Berstret.*

centenarius.] Thomas de Trous,¹ centenarius, armatus & cum hasta & cum vexillo.
 centenarius.] Willelmus de Mundham, vintenarius, armatus & cum hasta & pyncell'
 ut infra.

¹ In another hand, Johannes Causton.

Walterus de Swanton cum baculo & cutell'.
 Serviens Letit' Kyng cum baculo & cutell'.
 Petronilla de Bokenham ad inveniendum hominem cum bac' &
 cutell'.
 Vincentius Gykel cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Wrighte cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Robertus Pope cum baculo & cutell'.
 Robertus Roper cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Taillour cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes de Leek cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Stephanus Beamund cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Tovel cum baculo & cutell'.
 Walterus Streyt, redere, cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Pope cum baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas S . . . cum baculo & cutell'.
 Bartholomeus Broun cum arcu sagittis & gladio ut infra.
 Benedictus Ankersmith cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Hamo Yngge Soutere cum gladio & cutell'.
 Robertus Skut cum gisarm & cutell'.
 Hugo Webbestere cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Cosy cum baculo & cutell'.
 Simon filius Katherine ffye cum gladio & baculo & cutell'.

[Vintenarius.] Johannes de Boyland, vintenarius, armatus ut infra & cum lancea cum pyncell'.

Johannes de Essex cum baculo & cum cutell'.
 Radulfus Smith cum baculo & cutell'.
 Rogerus Cok cum arcu sagittis gladio & cutell'.
 Johannes Schipman, cook, cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Custance cum baculo & cutell'.
 Robertus Maye cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Smyth cum wyax & cutell'.
 Radulfus Leterman cum baculo & cutell'.
 Henricus de Mouelberton cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Willelmus Hampyng cum arcu sagittis & cutell'.
 Thomas Tovel Soutere cum baculo & cutell'.
 Robertus Dade cum baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas de Lopham armatus ut infra.
 Walterus de ffreton arcus sagitte & gladius.
 Henricus Taillour Crakessheld cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes de Ware armatus ut infra.

Willelmus Streit cum baculo et cutell'.
 Willelmus de Sporle armatus ut infra.
 Johannes Gertmaker cum baculo & cutell'.
 Walterus Clericus arcus sagitte & cutell'.

Vintenarius.] Bartholomeus de Beppes, vintenarius, armatus ut infra cum lancea & pyncell'.

Walterus de Kesewyk armatus ut infra.
 Stephanus Lecman cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus de Walsham cum wyax & cutell'.
 Adam de Ely cum & pollex.
 Johannes de Beppes, cordewainer, cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Henricus Taillour cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Spicer cum baculo & cutell'.
 Hamo garlicman cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes pottour cum baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Mariot cum baculo & cutell'.
 Simon Neue de Wyghton cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Knappe cum baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Ladde cum gladio wyex & cutell'.
 Rogerus de Walsham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Hayroun cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Wet cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus de Hardelee cum baculo & cutell'.
 Rogerus Noder cum baculo & cutell'.
 Hugo Cursoun armatus ut infra sagittarius.
 Henricus serviens Willelmi de Sporle cum baculo & cutell'.

Vintenarius.] ffFranciscus Spicer,¹ vintenarius, armatus ut infra cum lancea & pyncell'.

Nicholas de Stoke armatus ut infra.
 Alexander de Opton armatus ut infra.
 Johannes de Ely cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Johannes de Tudenham cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus de Banham cum baculo & cutell'.
 Stephanus de ffolsham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 cum wyax gladio & cutell'.

Here follow the names of twelve more persons, illegible, of whom one is "armatus ut infra," probably Henricus de Bonyngham on the fully armed list; two others are archers; the rest have a staff & knife, and one a sword also.

¹ In another hand, Willelmus Sporle.

ROLL B. A VIEW OF ARMS FOR THE LEET OF MANCROFT.

Leta de Mancroft.

- Cen^l. Hugo de Holand,¹ p'poynt brac' paunce de mayle pisan plat' bac' cum
avent' Waunbras & rerebrase Cuters de fer tunic armat' rub'
glad' & cutell' hasta cum uno baner.
- Cen^l. Will' de Dunston² eodem modo armatus.
- Vin^l. Rob'tus de Fundenhale³ p'poynt brac' pisan plat' bas' cum avental
cerot' de ferr' tunic' armat' rub' lanc' cum pens' glad' & cutell'.

All marked
"Vin^l" and
"eodem modo
armatus."

Thomas Gronger. ⁴	
Will' de Thirkeby.	
Thomas Gerbald.	[Ric' de Bonewell. ⁵]
Will' Tauerner.	
Will' Bakford.	[Hen' Spynk. ⁵]
Hugo Haslack.	[Joh' Ward. ⁵]
Johannes Galon.	
Johannes Dewes.	
Will' Frankys.	[Joh' de Heydon. ⁵]
Gilbertus de Seggeford.	

Plene armati.

Robertus de Bungey plene armatus p'poynt bras' pisan bas' cum
aventall Waunbras rerbras Cuter cer' ferr' tunic' armat' rub' glad'
& cutell'.

[Then follow twenty-nine others, armed in like manner.]

¹ *In a later hand is substituted* Johannes de Erpyngham. He was almost certainly father of Sir Thomas Erpingham. He lived in Norwich and was Bailiff in 1362 and 1360. He died in 1370, only a few weeks after his father, Sir Robert Erpingham. As his name is here a later addition, the date of the roll is at least some year or two earlier than 1370. The names mentioned occur rather later than those in the Conesford Roll.

² *Substituted in later hand,* Johannes de Welbourn in mercato.

³ *Substituted in later hand,* Johannes Latymer.

⁴ These names are all taken from Kirkpatrick's notes.

⁵ *In later hand.*

Petrus de Weston.	Joh'es de Tilneye.
Hugo de Toftes.	. . . . de Attilburgh.
Thomas de Bumpstede cum j	. . . . Sadeler & fil' eius.
homine armato.	Will' de Thurston.
Johannes de Welbourn.	Joh'es Warde.
Johannes Plukrose.	Rad's Chamberleyn.
Walterus de Multon.	Will' Hasger.
Johannes de Erpyngham cum j	Will's de Bliklyng.
hom' arm' & ij sagittariis.	Galfr'us de Hethirsete.
Johannes de Elyngham cum j	Joh'es de Gnateshale.
sagit'.	Rob's de Walcote.
Rog' Hert'.	Galfr'us Sewale.
Petrus de Blickling cum j sag'.	Will's de Worstede.
Will' de Blakeneye ij hom' arm'	Henricus de Salle.
cum j sag'.	

Dimid' armati.

Ric'us de Bunwell p'poynt brac' plat' bac' cum avental cer' fer' tunic
armat' rub' glad' & cutell'.

[Then follow twenty-two more names, of which the following can
be deciphered.]

Will's Cobbe.	Joh'es de Hendon.
Thomas Cole, spuriur.	Thos' Scherman.
Thomas de Thirston.	Rob'ts de Bonewell.
Will' Munfort.	. . . . de Stowe.
S . . . de fforsete.	

Sagittarii.

Hen' ffrostell arcus cum sagittis glad' cutell'.

[Then follow fifty-six others, all "arcus cum sagittis," including
these names.]

Petrus Pouchemaker.	Will's Pelle.
Ric'us de Poringlond.	Joh'es Tailor de Barsham.
Will' de Leek, taliour.	Will' de Panxford.
Rob'ts Goldesmyth.	Will' de Ely.
Joh'es Hale.	Will's de . . . serviens Ric'i de
Tho's de Multon, tailour.	Bunewell.
Joh'es de Buxton.	Ric'us Deuenshire.
Joh'es Gurdon.	Nich'us de Brampton.
Ric'us de Bery.	Thom' Brundisse.
Reginald de Bungey.	Joh'es Prentisse.

Will' atte Wro.
 Rob'ts serviens Rad'i Chamber-
 layn.
 Joh'es de Dunham.
 Nich's de Beccles.
 Tho's Hosmund.
 Will' frere.
 Walt'us Barker.
 Joh'es flynt.

Rob'tus serviens Will'i H asger
 Will's de London.
 Andr' serviens Walt'i Peke.
 Warryle serviens Thom' Shere-
 man.
 John Thurbald serviens Rob'ti
 de Walcote.
 Joh'es de Topcroft.

[*Men without armour*].

[These are about ninety in all. Besides the gunners and the bearers of a weffe, almost all of them have "a sword, a knife, and a staff." Two of them carry a sword and a "spartha." The following names may be read.]

Thom' Puchemaker.
 Edmund Hurlbane.
 John Payn.
 Will's Barker.
 Will' de Holond.
 Philipp' de Besthorp.
 Joh'es Jolyf.
 Joh'es Couper.
 Jacob' serviens Joh'is Welbourn.
 Ric'us de Ely.
 Andr' Couper.
 Joh'es serviens Andr' Bert.
 Laur' serviens eius.
 Adam de Porynglond.
 Joh'es Spicer.
 Will' serviens Ade de Poryng-
 lond.
 Simo serviens Thome Gronger.
 Will' Macobe, taylor.
 Will' Prestsone.
 Barth. de Cossey.
 Galfr'us de Bumpstede.
 Walterus serviens Petri Blic-
 lyng.
 Simo de Carlton.
 Andr' pulter.

Will' de Lynk, tailor.
 Thos' serviens Hen' Spynk.
 Rob'tus Coke.
 Thos' de Biltham.
 Will' de Hegham.
 Roger' de Haldaby.
 Adam Leche.
 Reg' Brokedissh.
 Joh'es Schilling.
 Joh'es Pope.
 Rob'tus fil' Joh'is de Carleton.
 Joh'es Webestere.
 Joh'es kempe, cureyour.
 Hen' le Hirdeler.
 Thos' de Multon serviens Joh'is
 Lothale.
 Walter' serviens Rob'ti de Bone-
 well.
 Walter' serviens eiusd' Rob'ti.
 Edmund' de Thirston.
 Rob'ts serviens Will'i frenkys.
 Joh'es serviens dicti Will'i.
 Simo serviens Rob'ti Cok.
 Adam Lole.
 Regin' Glouer.
 Joh'es Reder.

ROLL C.
A VIEW OF ARMS FOR THE LEET OF WYMER.

Leta de Wymer.

Const' Rogerus Hardegrey¹, Bartholomeus de Appelyerd.
Constabular' Hugo de Cantele, Galfridus Rust.

[*Plene armati.*]

Joh'es de Hevingham iij hom'
plen' arm' cum iij sagittar'.
Adam serviens eius bac' & cut'.
Joh'es de Oulton.
Will's de Brook cum j sagittar'.
Barth'us Sonman.
Ric'us Fish.
Rob'tus Thurkild.
Joh'es Pere.
Joh's & Steph'us servientes eius.²
Joh'es de Welburn cum j sag'.
Will's frater eius } glad' bac'
Joh'es serviens eius } et cutell'.
Joh'es Gernoun.
Joh'es de Ludham.
Joh'es ffairchild cum j alio hom'
arm' & ij sagittar'.
Petrus ffairchild cum j sagittar'.
Barth'us Appleyerd cum alio
hom' arm' & ij sagittar'.
Rob'ts de Bumpsted cum alio
hom' arm' & ij sagittar'.
Steph'us Silvestre.
Galfr'us de Hapton cum Steph'o
fratre suo sagitt'.

Joh'es Page.
Ph'ippus Cosyn.
Petrus de Bumsted.
Rogerus Hardegrey cum alio
hom' arm' & ij sagittar'.
Simon de Blicling duos hom'
plene arm' & iiij sagittar'.
Edmundus Lantorn cum j
sagittario.
Joh'es de Swanton cum j
sagittario.
Will's Reed.
Regin' Cobbe junior.
Will's de Elingham.
Galfr'us Boteler.
Hen' atte Loft.
Joh'es de Berford.
Regin' de Gurmuncastre cum
sagittario.
Joh'es Smeth cum j sagittario.
Walter' de Bixton cum j
sagittario.
Rob'ts de Bixton.
Joh'es de Hanele.
Tho's Stannard.

¹ Of the persons here mentioned, Roger Hardegrey was several times Bailiff between 1337 and 1360; as was Bartholomew de Appelyerd (father of William the first Mayor) between 1355 and 1372. John de Hevingham was Bailiff in 1361, John de Welborne ("in foro" or "mercato") for the first time in 1368; &c.

² Their weapons are not mentioned.

Alicia de Bumpsted j homo
plene armatus, vidz., Alanus
serviens eius.

Simon Spenser cum j sagittario.

Tho's Skip.

Andreas de Sharington.

Rob'ts Thurkild.

Adam Baas.

Tho's Gotte.

Ric'us Bencelyn.

Tho's & Joh'es }
servientes eius } bac' & cutell'.

Rob'ts de Metton.

Nich'us de Snyterton.

Will's Gerard.

Hugo de Holond.

Will's de Worsted.

Roger' de Mettingham.

Will's de Draiton.

Thos' serviens eius bac' & cutell'.

Steph'us Siluestre.

[*Dimid' armati.*]

Ricardus de Harpele dimidio armatus vidz haketon plat' basinet' cum
aventail cerotecis ferreis gladio & cutello.

Galfr'us de Dounham ut supra.

Jacobus Ive ut supra & Steph'us
serviens eius bac' & cut'.

Ric'us de Worsted.

Hugo de Cantele.

Galfr'us Rust.

Steph'us de Basingham.

Hen' de Bodekesham.

Joh'es Mannynge Rollere.

Petrus de Weston.

Joh'es de Weston.

Joh'es de Thorpedel', sadelere.

Will's de Horning.

Rob'ts de Wyke.

Sagittarii.

Ric'us Starling arcus sagitte gladius & cutellus.

Joh'es Paytrek.

Nich'us de Baldeswelle.

Tho's de Hethel.

Joh'es & Begin' servientes eius.

Walt'us de Berneye.

Ricus serviens eius.

Adam de Horstede.

Tho's de Stanhowe.

Will's atte Lane.

Joh'es Steph'us & Joh'es serv'
eius.

Joh'es de Erlham, mercer.

Will's Chaundeler, peyntour.

Begin' Smyth.

Ric'us & Hugo serv' eius.

Rad'us Grote.

Nich'us & Ric'us serv' eius.

Joh'es Bowyers.

Joh'es de Mounteneye.

Joh'es Sterre.

Jacobus Smyth.

Hen' Ropere.

Rob'ts Bunch.

Ric'us Deye, pelter.

Adam Lompnour.

Ric'us flecher.

Joh'es de Tyd, taliour.

Nich'us & Tho's Torald.

Joh'es Trowelove flecher.

Gilb'tus de Colton, latoner.

Robt's de Bumpstede, goldsmyth.
 Nich'us de Betele.
 Galfr'us de Lound, Bowyere.
 Nich'us atte Water.
 Matheus Sherman.
 Will's de Polham.
 Joh'es Payns.
 Joh'es serviens eius.
 Will's Tut.
 Nic'us Dory.
 Rad's serviens eius.
 Simon Acora.
 Petrus & Joh'es serviens eius.
 Walter' Oysel [? serviens].
 Gilb'tus Berghmakere.

Simon de Colby.
 Roger' serviens eius.
 Joh'es de Topcroft.
 Ric'us & Rob'ts serv' eius.
 Joh'es Wade.
 Ric'us & Joh'es serv' eius.
 Will's de Eton.
 Ricardus of ye Castel.
 Will's de Bernyngham.
 Jacobus frater eius [? serv'].
 Tho's de Hekeling.
 Will's de Bokenham, smyth.
 Joh'es & Joh'es & Hermanus
 servientes Willi'.

[All the above have bows, arrows, sword, and knife, except the
 "servientes," who have only a staff and knife.]

[*Men without Armour*].

[All have "baculus and cutellus," eighteen "gladius" also.
 No other weapons are mentioned.]

Robertus de Stamford, maszoun.
 Willelmus Ormere.
 Rudulfus Stede.
 Willelmus Hakeneyman.¹
 Henricus de Banbyri, Taliour.
 Alexander Barkere.
 Johannes de Babewe.²
 Johannes de Colney, cordewaner.
 Willelmus serviens eius.
 Adam Lovelyk.
 Johannes Bonde serviens eius.
 Willelmus Bullok.
 Johannes Osteler.
 Johannes de Hevigham, hosteler.
 Willelmus de Causton.
 Bartholomeus Cook.

Thomas serviens eius.
 Rogerus Malemakere.
 Nicholaus maszoun.
 Willelmus de Bonewell, corde-
 waner.
 Johannes Stotere.
 Galfridus Clerk Sanctorum
 Simonis & Jude.
 Johannes de Blofeld, Taliour
 Henricus & Petrus & Adam,
 servientes eius.
 Johannes Coupere.
 Thomas Dyncok.
 Willelmus Monk.
 Walterus Byrch, corayour.
 et Willelmus serviens eius.

¹ "Hackneyman. A man who lets out horses on hire, *Piers Ploughman*, 96."—Halliwell.

² A "John de Babewelle" was admitted to the freedom in 27th Edward III. (1353).

Johannes de Barsham, Taliour
 Thomas Barbour atte Tomlond.
 Johannes de ffresingfeld, Taliour.
 & Thomas serviens eius.
 Johannes Smyth.
 Simon de Carleton.
 & Johannes serviens eius.
 Richardus Currayour.
 Robertus frater eius.
 Rogerus Gurnay.
 Willelmus Ringolf.
 Rogerus Brekemast.
 Johannes Gamage, Pelter.
 Willelmus de Bokenham, Baxster.
 Thomas Tournour.
 Richardus flourbour.
 Willelmus Neusom.
 Thomas atte strete, glover.
 Petrus de Jorn, grauere.
 Thomas de Belagh, latoner.
 Johannes Quilter.
 Radulfus }
 Johannes } servientes Ricardi de
 Adam } Baketon.
 Johannes Clerk, Chaundeler.
 Walterus flogging.
 Ricardus Dugthy.
 Petrus de Walsokene, glover.

Dorse.

Willelmus Corrayour de Cokeye.
 Willemus Tournour.
 Adam Clark.
 Petrus
 Robertus Coteler.
 Petrus serviens eius.
 Ricardus de Depham, smyth.
 Willelmus Alexander.
 Vincentius & Johannes servi-
 entes eius.
 Simon ffullere.

Robertus Peyntour.
 Willelmus Brasyere.
 Henricus de Castalacre, taliour.
 Johannes Roghay, taliour.
 Richardus Scordy, palter.
 Robertus Shedere
 Bartholomeus Malemaker.
 Thomas atte Mor, cordewaner.
 Johannes serviens eius.
 Jacobus Sheraday.
 Johannes de Melton, flourbour.
 Willelmus de Wykes, taliour.
 Henricus }
 Johannes } Servientes eius.
 Petrus Nuorde.
 Robertus Hornere.
 Johannes Torald.
 Willelmus Bordclevere.
 Robertus de Massingham, taliour.
 Nicholaus Walterus }
 & Clemens } servientes
 Johannes de Brandeston, shedere.
 Thomas Brown.
 Simon Toche.
 Rogerus de Giselham, shedere.
 Johannes de Lynn, cordwaner.
 Walterus Taliour de Lakinghye.

Willelmus Maraunt & Thomas
 serviens eius.
 Nicholaus de Sibton.
 Petrus Loksmyth.
 Willelmus serviens eius.
 Thomas Chapman.
 Thomas Skynner.
 Johannes de Norwyco.
 Bartholomeus Peyntour.
 Bartholomeus Bisshop.
 Willelmus Crampe.

Simon Wryghte.
 Thomas & } servientes Alicie
 Thomas } Brokdisch.
 Rogerus Barkere de Heyham.
 Johannes Gray.
 Bartholomeus de Castre.
 Hugo de Norton.
 Johannes Cowpere in Holtor.
 Thomas & Henricus servientes
 eius.
 Clemens Spicer.
 Robertus serviens eius.
 Laurentius Chaundeler.
 Thomas Rokele.
 Ricardus de Dounham.
 Willelmus Bothe.
 Willelmus de Tasburgh, taliour.
 Willelmus Agaz serviens eius.
 Willelmus Shereman &
 Radulfus serviens eius.
 Matheus de Blicling.
 Robertus de Bonewelle.
 Thomas }
 Johannes } servientes eius.
 & Jacobus }
 Johannes Snow & Rogerus
 serviens eius.
 Galfridus Webestere de Drayton.
 Willelmus Valiaunt.
 Johannes de Catton.
 Johannes de Tonstede.
 Johannes Hoddes & Johannes
 filius eius.
 Johannes Prentys.
 Willelmus Robertus } servientes
 & Willelmus } eius.
 Ricardus Palfrey.
 Johannes Lambard.
 Johannes serviens eius.
 Rogerus Palmere.
 Johannes Bullok.

Robteler fullere.
 Reginaldus Geyrt.
 Simon Noble.
 Thomas & Willelmus servientes
 eius.
 Ranulphus Moreman.
 Robertus Brokedissh.
 Willelmus Mirrigo.
 Robertus de Barnham, smyth.
 Ricardus serviens eius.
 Rogerus de Lakenham.
 Johannes Mosse serviens eius.
 Andreas le Millere.
 Johannes de Pekenham, peltre.
 Petrus de Halesseye.
 Rogerus de Castre.
 Willelmus serviens eius.
 Adam de Berforth.
 Johannes Bulmerty.
 Johannes de Weston, junior.
 Henricus le Wryghte, carpenter.
 Andreas Gurney.
 Johannes Der.
 David de Marlingford Webstere.
 Richardus de ffriston.
 Robertus de Eye, taliour.
 Robertus serviens eius.
 Willelmus de Erlham.
 Robertus peyntor de Suffolk.
 Robertus ye cartere.
 Bartholomeus Daubere.
 Johannes Bissshop.
 Jacobus Taliour.
 Adam Cordewaner.
 Petrus frater eius.
 Alanus Nosere.
 Willelmus Bont, plomer
 & Simon serviens eius.
 Johannes de Shotesham, junior.
 Willelmus de Bonewelle.
 Johannes serviens eius.

Rogerus de Cosseye, masjon.	Ricardus de Loudham.
Robertus de Holm.	& Willelmus serviens eius.
Henricus de Teteshale.	Johannes Jowel.
Rogerus serviens eius.	Johannes Burel.
Johannes Stere.	Herr' de Carleton Webestere.
Johannes de Hedenham.	Willelmus serviens eius.
Rogerus serviens eius.	Johannes de Wychingham.
Ricardus Person, taliour.	Rogerus Daubere.
Thomas Spark Webestere.	Johannes Albon Baxstere.
Johannes de Sweynsthorpe.	Johannes Dun.
Johannes & Johannes } servientes	Alanus de Kerbrok.
Jacobus & Andreas } eius.	Henricus serviens eius.
Hamo Taliour.	Thomas Barburgh.
Radulphus Bert.	Willelmus Sherman.
Nicholaus Skip.	Walterus frater eius.
Johannes de Wakele.	

ROLL D. A VIEW OF ARMS FOR THE LEET OVER THE WATER.

[This Roll is now lost; the following is a MS. analysis made by Kirkpatrick.]

Ultra Aquam.			
Constabular'.	Roger' Berte. ¹	Rob'tus Spicer.	
	ho'ies armat'.	hom. arm. (in alia manu).	Sagitt'.
			(in alia manu).
Ric' Spynk - - -	3		3
Joh' But - - -	3		4
Joh' de Welles - - -	1		1
Rob' Spicer - - -	1	(2)	2
Rog' Berte - - -	1		(1)
Will' But - - -	1		(1)
Joh' de Wynterton -	1		(1)

¹ This Roll would fall within the same period as the others; Roger Berte was Bailiff in 1356 and 1362, Rob. le Spicer in 1357 and 1369.

		ho'ies armat'.	hom. arm. (in alia manu).	Sagittar.	Sagitt' (in alia manu).
<u>Vint'</u>	Joh' de Bastwyk - -	1			
	Pet. Markaunt - -	1			(1)
	Steph' Sturmere - -	1			
	Edm' Alderford - -	2		2	
	Simon de Alemannia -	plene armatus			(1)
<u>Vint'</u>	Joh' Staloun - -	pl' arm'			
	Begin' Cobbe - -	pl' arm'		1	(2)
<u>Vint'</u>	Will' Plomer - -	pl' arm'			
	Nich' Munfort - -	pl' arm'			
	Thos' de Dounham -	1 hom' arm'		1	
	Walter' de Underwode -	1			
<u>Vint'</u>	Bog' de Multon - -	1			
	Rad' de Bungeye Kooe -	1			
	Bog' de Botone - -	1		1	
<u>Vint'</u>	Joh' Hoker - -	1			(1)
	Joh' atte Gren - -	1		1	
	Mag' Joh'es de Cone -	pl' arm'		1	(2)
	Hen' de Playford - -	1 hom' arm'			
	Ad' de Gouthorp - -	pl' arm'			
	Mag' Joh'es de Ely -	pl' arm'			
	Tho' de Eggefeld - -	pl' arm'			
	Edm' de Wyecham - -	di' arm' (1)			
	Bog' Brokedissh - -	pl' arm' (1 &c.)			
	Rob' Heye - -	di' arm'			
	Rich' de Catton - -	di' arm'			
<u>Vint'</u>	Rich' de Dilham - -	1 ho' arm'			
	Joh' Barker - -	di' arm' (1 &c.)			
	Joh' de Gyssyngg - -	di' arm' (1 &c.)			
<u>Vint.</u>	Bog' Halesworth - -	di' arm'			
	Joh' de Eggefeld - -	di' arm'			
	Tho' Interford - -	di' arm' (1)			
	Rad' Lynes - -	di' arm'			
	Will' Swon (al' manu) -		(1)		

N.B.—After all these Armat' & plene armat' & di' armat' foll. 26
Sagittar' more & lastly 81 men omnes cum glad' bacul' & cutell'.

So y^e y^e numb' of y^e men for that Lete were 169.

ROLL E. A ROLL OF ARRAY FOR THE LEET OF WYMER.

Arr' fe'a p' mand' J. bardolf & soc' suor' Justie p' mand' dni' Regis & p' [] J. de Welbourn¹ ball'i Norwici & Hugon' de Cauntele & Ad' Baas Const' de'e Ville & Rob'ti de Bu'psted & Walt'i de Bixtone de Let' de Wymer Jur' ad Arr' fac' &c.²

Johannes de Hevyngham j homo armatus cum purpont plat' vel haub' bacinet cum aventail & cerotecis gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Oulton, Adam Baas, Johannes Pere, j homo armatus, laurentius Rape.

Johannes de Welbourn [in cueria *added*] j homo armatus cum purpont plat' bacinet' cum aventail gladio, Ricardus Starlyng.

Johannes ffairchild j homo armatus ut Joh' de Hevyngham. Sufficit in corpore.

Petrus ffairchild j homo armatus ut Joh' de Hevyngham.

¹ The date of this Roll falls in one of the three years in which John de Welborne ["de Cueria"] was acting as Bailiff. His years of office began at Michaelmas, 1359, 1361, and 1365. It will be observed that Roll H contains a list of armed men sworn to go on the King's service at Easter, 1359. During that year the King was preparing to renew the war with France. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii. 449, is an Order of October 3rd of that year calling upon the "chief men in counties to array all men between 16 and 60—to be ready within their hundreds—under constables—the foot-soldiers in centenaries & vintenaries, armed as in the Statute of Winchester." The Order is witnessed by the "King himself at Sandwich, Oct. 3rd." But in it he is described as "personaliter ad partes transmarinas." Either he was just starting and taking with him the men provided at Easter, or that array had been countermanded and a fresh one was made under John de Welborne, who entered on his office just at the time of this Order. The Wymer Roll C may record the result of this Order. Hugo de Cantele is mentioned as a Constable in both that Roll and in Roll E, but Adam Baas, the other Constable in Roll E, is not one of those in Roll C, and John Bardolf, who was apparently a Commissioner at the time of Roll E, was not one of the Commissioners appointed under the Order of 3rd October, 1359. All we can say is that if the dates of these Rolls do not actually coincide, they must fall within a very limited period.

² This heading is now almost illegible. It is given as Kirkpatrick copied it when it was not so defaced.

Robertus de Bumpsted j homo armatus ut Joh' Hevyngham. [*in different hand*] Thomas Gotte, Bartholomeus Appelyerd, Rogerus Hardegrey, ij homm'es armatos j sagettarium.

Bartholomeus Appelyerd j homo armatus ut J. Hevyngham, Johannes Page.

Edmundus Lent j homo armatus ut Hevyngham.

Simon de Bliclyng j homo armatus ut Hevyngham Petrus serviens eius.

Rogerus Hardegrey j homo armatus ut Hevyngham Galfridus serviens ipsius Rogeri.

Walterus de Bixton j homo armatus ut Hevyngham, Johannes serviens dicti Walteri.

Reginaldus Herle de Huntyngdon j homo armatus, Edmundus Pilcrowe assignatus ad arma ipsius Reginaldi portanda quia dictus Reginaldus est impotens.

Hugo de Holand, Ricardus bencelyn, j homo armatus, Sharyngton lodham.

Ricardus Bencelyn, Johannes Page, j homo armatus.

Johannes Lothal, Thomas Skip, & Thomas Stannard, j homo armatus Willelmus Stannard loco ipsorum.

Jacobus Iye dimidius homo armatus, Ricardus de Worsted & Hugo de Cantele di' homo armatus, Robertus Skiet serviens Stephani loco dictorum Jacobi Ricardi & Hugonis.

Stephanus Silvestre, Henricus Bodekisham, & Johannes Hauel, j homo armatus.

Johannes Gernoun, Robertus de Metton, Thomas flourbour, Johannes de Upton, j homo armatus, & idem Johannes sufficit in corpore ad arma portanda.

Galfridus Cuteler arcus gladius & cutell'.

Johannes Bereford arcus gladius & cutell'.

Nicholaus de Baldeswell baculus gladius & cutell'.

Willelmus Gerard, archer.

Johannes de Weston, archer.

Johannes de Dilham baculus gladius & cutell'.

Gilbertus Berughammaker¹, baculus & cutell'.

Stephanus Basingham gladius & cutell'.

Willelmus de Drayton arcus gladius & cutell'.

Rogerus Metyngham baculus gladius & cutell'.

Willelmus Reed baculus & cutell'.

Galfridus Rust arcus & bagitte.

¹ "Berwham, horse collar, *Prompt. Parv.*" Halliwell. Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, "berhom."

Bartholomeus Bisshop baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes de Thorpendel baculus & cutell'.
 Galfridus de Dunham baculus & cutell'.
 Ricardus de Helgeye arcus & sagitte.
 Robertus de Wykes }
 Bartholomeus Soneman } baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes Lambard, Thomas Hedyngham, baculus & cutell'.
 Olemens fflesham }
 Radulphus Moreman } baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes Payn baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes atte brigg, tanner, baculus & cutell'.
 Willelmus Elyngham }
 Willelmus de Pulham } arcus & sagitte.
 Nicholaus Sniterton hachia & cutell'.
 Rob'tus Thurkild baculus & cutell'.
 Willelmus de Hornyngg baculus gladius & cutell'.
 Johannes Brok baculus & cutell'.
 Robertus Pykenham baculus & cutell'.
 Henricus Nodel arcus & sagitte.
 Gilbertus Olton baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes Neve, wrighte baculus [? & cutell'].
 Johannes baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes Hedenham Baxtere baculus & cutell'.

ROLL F. A SIMILAR ARRAY INSCRIBED ON THE DORSE OF THE LAST ROLL.

NORWIC.

Arrayacio & Agistacio hominum armatorum & sagittariorum in
 leta de Wymer Civitate Norwici coram J. de Bardolph & sociis
 suis Justiciariis dni' Regis ad arrayand' homines ad arma &
 sagattarios in Comitatu Norff' homines proxime infra
 armati sunt cum purpoyes & plattes vel Alketonum & haub'ionem
 bacinetto cum auentaill cerotecis de plat' gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Hevyngham agistatus & arrayatus est ad unum
 hominem peditem armatum cum purpont platt vel Alketoun
 cum hauberion bacinetto cum aventaill & cerotecis de plat'
 gladio & cutell' Et quia idem Johannes impotens est ad
 laborandum ad arma sua portanda loco suo assignetur [—].

Johannes de Welbourne j homo armatus in forma qua supra, ad arma ipsius Johannis supportandum Ricardus Starlyng.

Simon de Blicklyng unus homo armatus, loco suo Petrus serviens eius.

Johannes ffairchild & Petrus frater eius unus homo armatus.

Rogerus Hardegrey, Robertus de Bumpstead, Bartholomeus Appelyerd agistantur ad duos homines armatos & unum sagittarium, ad dicta arma portand' Galfridus serviens Rogeri Hardegrey Willelmus frater Bartholomei Appleyerd Et sagittarius pro eisdem Robertus serviens Roberti de Bumpstead.

Walterus de Bixton j homo armatus, pro armatura portanda Johannes serviens eius.

Ed's Lente & Johannes Page j homo armatus & ad arma subportanda Henricus Ropere.

Reginaldus de Huntyngdon & Galfridus de Hapton unus homo armatus & ad arma dicta supportanda frater dicti Galfridi.

Hugo de Holonde & Ricardus Bencelyng j homo armatus & ad dicta arma supportand' Sharpinton.

Johannes de Oulton, Adam Baas & Johannes fer' j homo armatus.

Henricus de Bodekesham, Johannes de Haul, Stephanus Siluestre, . . . ipse Stephanus.

Johannes Lothal, Thomas Stannard, Thomas Skip' j homo armatus & loco ipsorum Willelmus Stannard ad dicta arma portanda.

Kirkpatrick in his MS. notes after the above adds the following:—

Adhuc ex alio Rotulo qui indentatus est.

Norwicz. Leta de Wymer.

Agistacio & arrayacio hominum ad arma & sagittariorum in Leta de Wymer Civitatis Norwici coram J. Bardolf & Sociis suis Justic' ad homines arrayand' ad arma & Sagittarios in Com' Norff.

Joh'es de Hevingham agistatus & array' ad j hominem arm' cum p'point, &c. . . . ut supra

& so 11 more much as in manner above & then 11 Sagittarii . . . then 21 men quilibet eorum bacul' and cutell'.

N.B.—These, from last two Rolls, could not be musters of ye whole ward, but rather as I judge were for some expedition.

[The three following Rolls are only known through Kirkpatrick's Notes.]

ROLL G.

Rotulus brevis in Gildhall, sans date.

Armoure.

CONSFORD.	li.	s.	d.
Joh'es Bokele . . .		7	
Ad' Midday . . .	1	9	
Rog' Midday . . .	2	4	
Will' Reed . . .		2	2
Rog' de Melton . . .		6	
Will' Skye . . .		8	
Joh'es de Causton . .		10	
	Sm ^a	5	6 2

MANCROFT.

Rob' de Wroxham . .	19		
Hen' Flemyng . . .	9		
Joh'es Hert . . .	12		
Tho's Baman . . .	11		
Will' de Thirston . .	10		
Rob' de Heverynglond	10		
Tho's de Bomstede . .	1	14	
Ric' de Scharwode . .	15		
Joh'es de Erpyngham	10		
Ric' de Porynglond . .	14		
Rob' de Pole . . .	10		
Joh'es Emelot . . .	8	6	
Will' de Donston . . .	4	8	
Joh'es de Penteneye . .	8		
Ad' de Horsford . . .	10		
Walt' Baldewyne . . .	4		
Steph' de Surlyngham	6		
Will' de Blakene . . .	12		
Cat'ina de Ely . . .	6		
Will' de Bliclyngge . .	9		

	li.	s.	d.
Will' de Hardyngham		3	
Ric' de Byteryngge . .	4	16	
Hen' Horn . . .		6	
	Sm ^a	20	10 6

ULTRA AQUAM.

Ad. de Smalbergh . .	4		
Edm' de Alderford . .	13	4	
Ad' de Mondham . . .	10		
Galf' Copenote . . .	7		
Joh' Urry & Walt' soc	1	5	
Galf. Trotter . . .	11		
Ad' Berte . . .	11		
Ric' Stalon . . .	7	6	
Will' Felix . . .	9		
Rob' Aleyn . . .	3	6	
Barth' de Heyleaddon .	6		
Will' de Sturmere . .	1		
Hen' de Heygham . . .	9		
Joh' Moner . . .	6		
Will' But, senior . . .	2	6 ^a	

(sic) Sm^a 8 5 4

(N.B.—but is only £6 [? 7] 9s. 4d. without 2 Bac'.¹)

WYMER.

Rad's de Blakene . . .	5		
Simon de Bliclyngge . .	1		
Anote de Erlham . . .	10		

¹ Two bacinets with aventails at 16s. (see end of the roll) would make this right [W. H.].

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Joh' Athel . . .	1	6	8	Nic'us de Bomsted . . .	2		6
Simon de Takolston . . .	7	2		Will' Mostardman			
Steph' de Basingham . . .	5			Hosyer . . .		5	
Barth' Byschop . . .	8			Barth' de Salle . . .	4	8	
Tho' de Cantele . . .	16			Hug' Brown . . .	2	4	
Tho' de Surlyngham				Andr' de Bixton . . .	1	12	
& mater eius . . .	5			Rob' de Bumsted, Jun. . .	2		
Johes de Bomstede							
& Petrus fil . . .	8	6			Sm ^a	18	6 10
Galfr' de Surlyngham	6						

In dorso Rotuli.	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Will'o fil' Tho' But	2	10	
Steph'o de Neuton	1	6	8
Joh'i de Bery	1	6	8
Joh'i de Spanye		18	
Rog'o Bokelermaker		13	4
10 Dublet	1	11	
	Sm^a tot'	8	5 8

Sm^a totius armature, £61. 14^s. 6^d. ¹

It. 12^d pro gans de plat.

It. Johi Spanye & Petro de Bomsted 2 bac' cum
aventail pro 14^s.

pro Blasons & Sper's, £11. 12s.

profesur' de Boll del Tax di' marc'.

It. 6^d parchemyn.

¹ Kirkpatrick makes the following calculation :—

£.	s.	d.
5	6	2
20	10	6
8	5	4
18	6	10
8	5	8
<hr/>		
£60	14	6

An error of one figure is nothing unusual in mediæval accounts. But surely the account for £8. 5s. 8d. on the dorse of the roll is for money to be paid to armourers and others, not to be received as the rest of the items.

ROLL H.

Nomina hominum armatorum pro Civitate Norwici Juratorum ad
proficiend' in Serviciu[m] d[omi]ni Regis per mandatu[m] d[omi]ni Regis ad
festu[m] Pasche anno regni Regis Edwardi iij¹ 33 [Easter, 1359].

	Tho' de Dauentre	APPREC[IATORES] ARMATUR ¹
	Barth' Brown,	Rog' Berte.
	&c., &c.	Joh' Staloun.
<u>Vint'</u>	Rog' de Halesworth,	Joh' Gnateshale.
	&c., &c.	Will' Gnateshale.
	Robs' Papyngay,	Tho' Cole.
	&c., &c.	
	in toto 96.	

Sm ^a dublets	9	
„ de plat'	21	al' paria de plat'.
„ de Avental	25	
„ de pisan	22	al' Pysan.
„ de bacinett	24	
„ cerotecar'	19	al' cerotec de plat'.
„ de braz	20	al' paria de Braaz.

¹ The provision of armour, even on ordinary occasions, cannot have been left to individual discretion. All the armed men in a leet followed the same pattern, but the pattern in one leet differed from that in another. Mancroft, the wealthiest leet, supplied its fully-armed men (p. 302) with more than Conesford (p. 295).—[W. H.].

year.

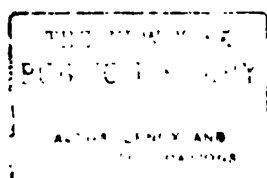
in the above arms accepta & appropria.

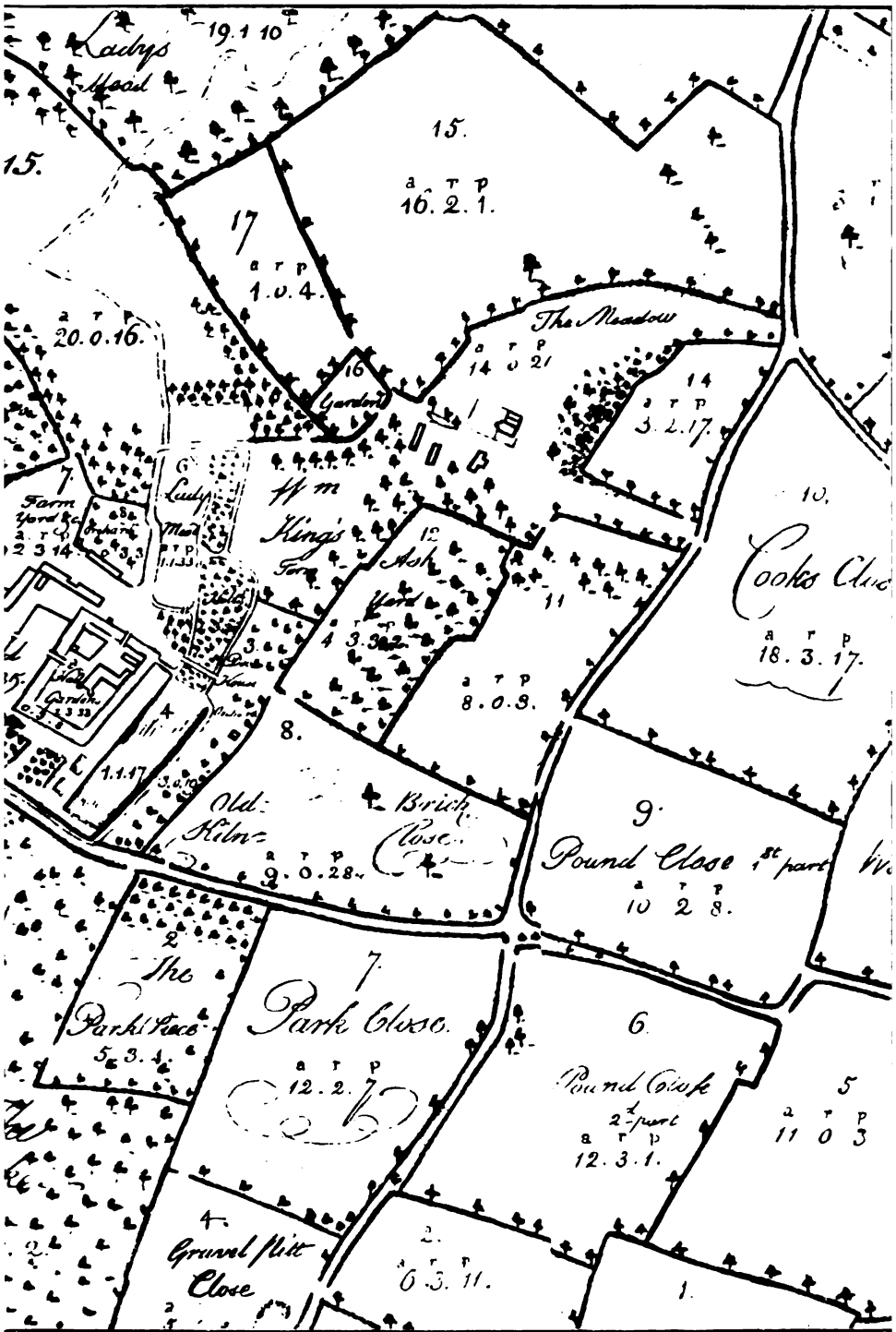
	Doublets.	Plat.	Aventail.	Pisane.	Bedinet ¹ .	Cotes ² .	Bras ³ .
Ric'us de Byteryng ...	2	...	1	2	1 cu' Av' 1 sine Av' 1 c' av'	...	2 paria cum 2 paribus de Muskyne. ¹ 1 par de maille.
Tho' dé Bumpsted ...	1 haub'ion	1 par	1	1	...	...	2 par de m 1 par de vant- bras & rerebras ascieri. 1 de m.
3 5 0 ³ Joh' But ...	...	2 par'	2	2	2	...	1 par de m.
1 15 0 Joh' de Elyngham ...	[Sic] +	1 par	1	1	[Sic] +	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
2 16 4 Will' de Blakene ...	...	1 par	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
3 1 4 Edm's de Alderford ...	...	1 par	2	2	2 cu' 2 av' & 2 pis' 1 c' av'	1 par de pl'	1 par ascieri 1 par de m.
3 4 4 Barth' Appelyerd ...	1	...	1	2	1 c' av'	1 par	...
Joh' de Gnateshale ...	...	2 par'	...	1	1 c' av'	1 par	...
3 11 4 Joh' Pykyng ...	+	...	...	1	1 c' av'	1 par	...
Rob' Heigh' ...	1	...	...	...	1 cu' av' & pis'	...	...
2 14 0 Will' de Gnateshale ...	1	1 par	...	...	1 cu' av'	2 paria	1 par de m.
Galfr' Boteler ...	1	1 par	...	...	...	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
Edm' Lent ...	1	1 par	...	...	1	1 par	...
Simon Spencer ...	...	1 par	...	1	1 cu' av'	2 par de plat	Avant Bras, rerebras Coters de ferr ⁴ .
Hen' de Boteslesham...	...	...	...	...	1 cu' av'	...	...

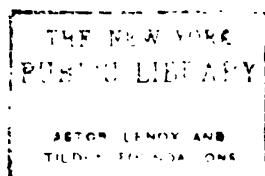
¹ I have not found an explanation of this word. It may be mittens or gloves.

² These sums may either represent the amount of each person's assessment or perhaps the value of the armour appended to their names. A comparison, however, between such entries as those of Barth' Appelyerd and Joh' Pykyng seems to make the latter explanation impossible.

		Dablets.	Plat.	Avental.	Pleas.	Bacinet.	Cotes.	Bras.
1 1 8	Rog' Midday ...	1	1 par	1	1	1	1 par de plat	
18 0	Tho' Gronger	...	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	...	1 par de m.
1 12 0	Joh' de Toffes	...	1	...	1	...	1 de plat	rerebras vantbras ascieri coters & lunett ven ¹ de p.
2 1 0	Rob' Spicer ...	1	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	vanbras rerebras ascieri 1 par bras de maille.
2 1 4	Joh' ffairchild	1	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
1 4 8	Roger de Halesworth	1	1 par	...	...	1 cu' av'	[1 hasta & glad']	
6 4 8	Joh'es de Welburn ...	2	2 par'	2	2	2 cu' av'	1 par de plat	2 par' de m 1 p' point 1 par vant bras, rerebr' ascieri.
1 1 4	Will' de Worsted	...	1 par	...	...	...	1 par de plat	
6 8	Joh' Palmere ...	1	...	...	...	...	...
2 9 0	Joh' de Berford	...	1 par	1	1	1	...	1 par de m.
3 0	... ..	1	...	...	...	...	...
2 12 0	Tho' Sherman	...	1 par	...	...	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	vant' bras rerebras ascieri.
1 1 4	Joh' Latymer	...	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	
1 0 0	Andr' Berd ...	...	...	...	...	1 cu' umbreller cu' av' 2	...	1 par de bras.
4 1 4	Tho' de Bumpsted	...	1 par	2	2	1	1 par de plat	2 par' de m.
2 4 0	Joh' Deux ...	...	...	1	...	1	...	
2 13 8	Rog' Hardegreay	2	1	1	1	1	1	1 de m.







Mannington Hall.

COMMUNICATED BY

R. J. W. PURDY.

THE tourist in this part of Norfolk will not fail to notice the numerous shallow valleys with which its surface is furrowed, nearly all of them watered by small rivulets, that form the tributaries of its two principal rivers—the Bure and the Wensum. If these valleys be traversed only a short distance, most of them will afford a mine of rich information, even to the casual observer, and an inspection of them will throw considerable light on the homes and habits of the former inhabitants of this district.

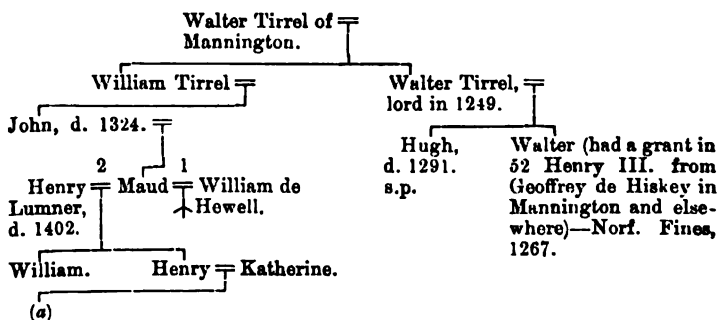
The first thing which strikes one is the number of moated sites that still exist. These are chiefly rectangular, but sometimes round or oval. They are generally sheltered from the north and east by rising ground, and being fed by a rivulet or a strong spring near its source, possess the conditions that rendered them so attractive to our ancestors, viz., warmth, shelter, water supply, and thereby security. It must not be concluded, however, that the buildings, the remains of which are enclosed by these moats, were always of the same date as the excavations around them. It is probable that, in many instances, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, respectively, placed their residences inside a ready-made defence that existed in Roman times, and afforded protection to their cohorts from

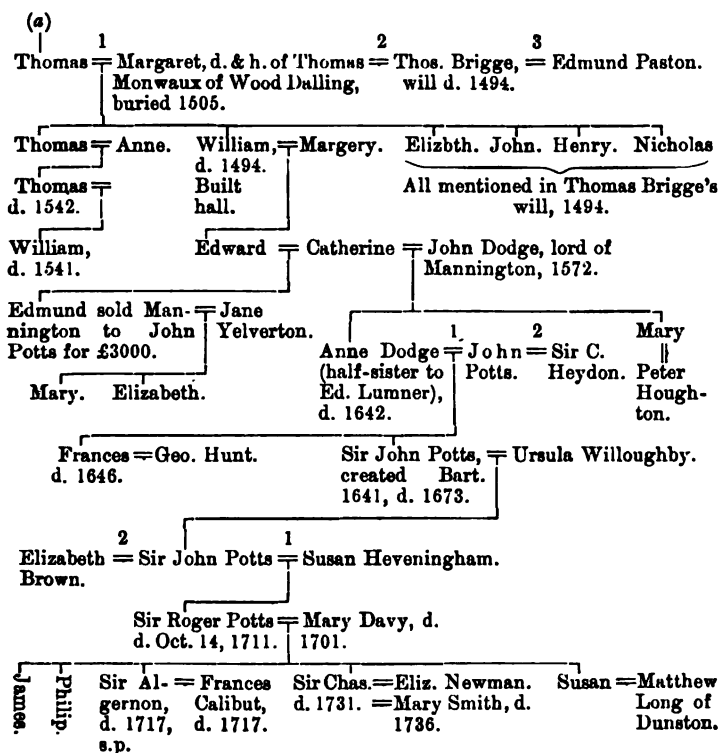
the fierce attacks of the Iceni, a tribe so much dreaded by the Roman conquerors of Britain, that we may with some degree of certainty attribute the comparative absence of domestic Roman architecture in Norfolk to the terror inspired by this warlike people.

The parish of Mannington has for its eastern boundary one of these valleys. On a mound of gravel and shingle, in the most sheltered part of it, stands the time-honoured hall, built by William Lumner, who had a licence from the king, in 1451, to embattle and fortify his house here. The origin of the name of the parish is usually assigned to the Mannings, who were moneyers or mint masters in Norfolk before the Norman Conquest. The chief residents in Mannington, in early days, were members of the families of Tirrel, Potts, and Lumner. In 1274 William Potts was sued by Tirrel, then lord, for encroaching on and appropriating the feed of a certain highway.

The manor, formerly in the Crown, was granted by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, to Walter Tirrel, who held it in 1249, from whom it passed through the several owners mentioned in the following pedigree, till the death of Mary, widow of Sir Charles Potts, in 1736, when it was sold to Horatio Walpole, Esq., afterwards Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

PEDIGREE OF TIRREL, LUMNER, AND POTTS.





William Lumner, who built the present hall, was a frequent correspondent of John Paston from 1450 till 1479, as may be seen in the *Paston Letters*, Nos. 93, 156, 348, 399, 847.

The following extract from the will of Margaret Paston, widow, proved May 19th, 1505, in favour of William Lumner, the then owner of the manor, says:—

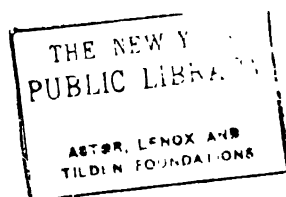
“He to have all the hangings in the grey chamber over the parlour, within the manor place of Manington, and the great bed with the coverings and hangings which is of tapestry work, also all the hangings of the halls and parlour and all the tables and stools in the haule, with the falletable in the parlour and all the tables and stools in the pantry and all the rede hangings of the rede chamber over

the pantry and botry and a bed of red baze." This shows the rooms were hung with tapestry, as was customary in those days.

In 1603 it was the residence of Sir Christopher Heydon, as mentioned by Ralph Dodge, Rector of Mannington, who, in his return to Archbishop Whitgrift's letter of enquiry stated as follows:—"There is but one house in which S^r Chrs. Heydon knt. sometimes dwelleth who is patron of the Church there in the right of his ladie sometime wife unto M^r Potts."

THE HALL'S SURROUNDINGS.

There are in the possession of the Earl of Orford two most interesting maps, each giving a good idea of the hall and its surroundings, with an interval of nearly two centuries. The oldest map, dated 1565, shows nearly all the land to the west of the house to be in large enclosures, as far as the Saxthorpe road. One was called the Sheep's Pasture, others were apparently woodland, East and West Mossimer. On the west side of the aforesaid road was the Mannington heath. Midway between this and the hall a row of venerable oak pollards marks the line of the "Houlte Way" entering the Barningham Road a quarter of a mile east of the Mere, a large pond, from which issues the stream that supplies the moat. This brook was widened into a canal-like arrangement, fitted with three large sluices, probably for the purpose of supplying the house with fish. Outside the moat, at the north-west corner, were two buildings. That on the north side was surmounted by a tower. They were most likely stables and offices to accommodate retainers. They had been removed before the later map was made, in 1742. The sketch of the house within the moat leads us to conclude



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1565

pea of the shoe
base are 12

Berington medow
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44

Haile way

Home Close 43

The Sheeps pasture.
All the Sheeps Court 30

A. S.
from

Chapel Close all the sheeps Close 27

The Close of the Grove Close 26

29

the more Close

29

burying

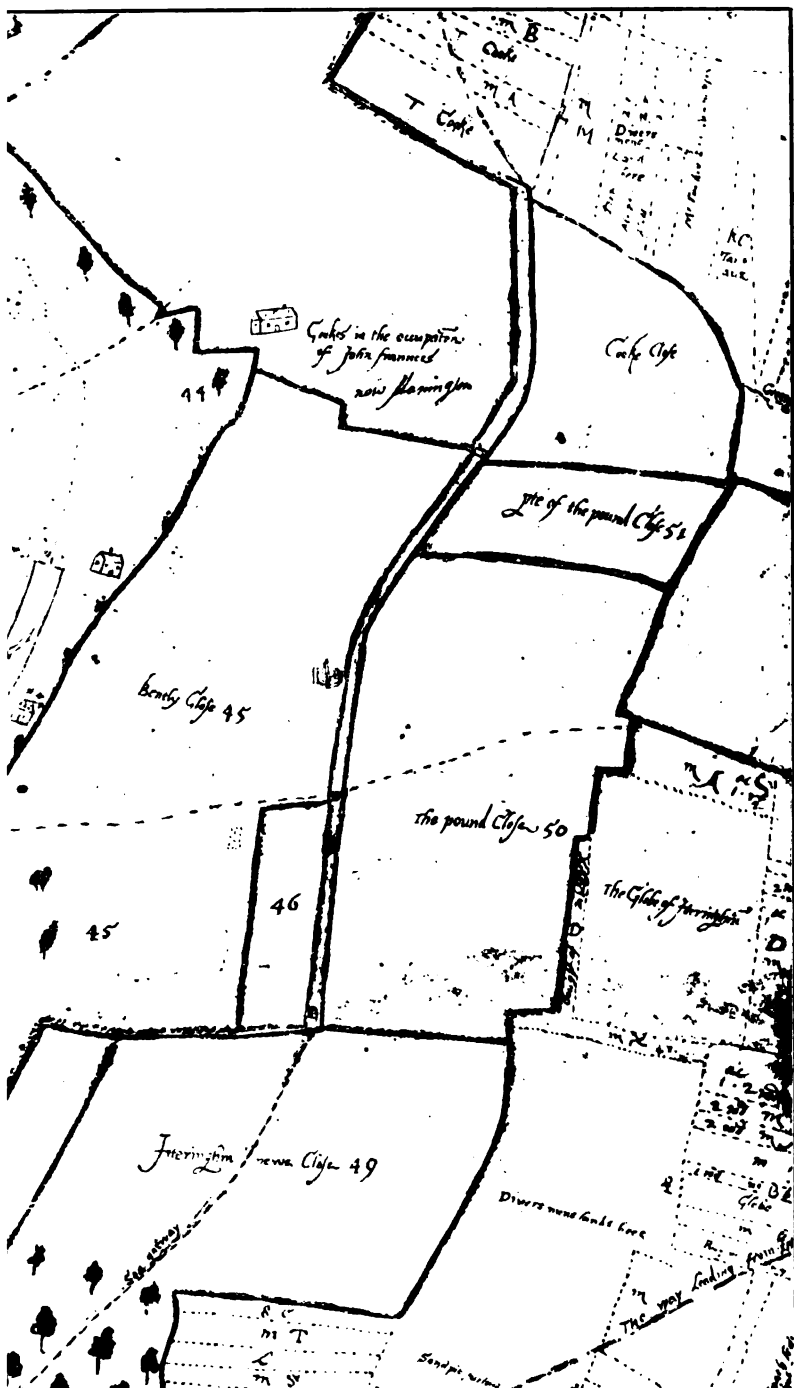
Terrace pile

North Ditch 8

Furberingham west field

The Hollands 4

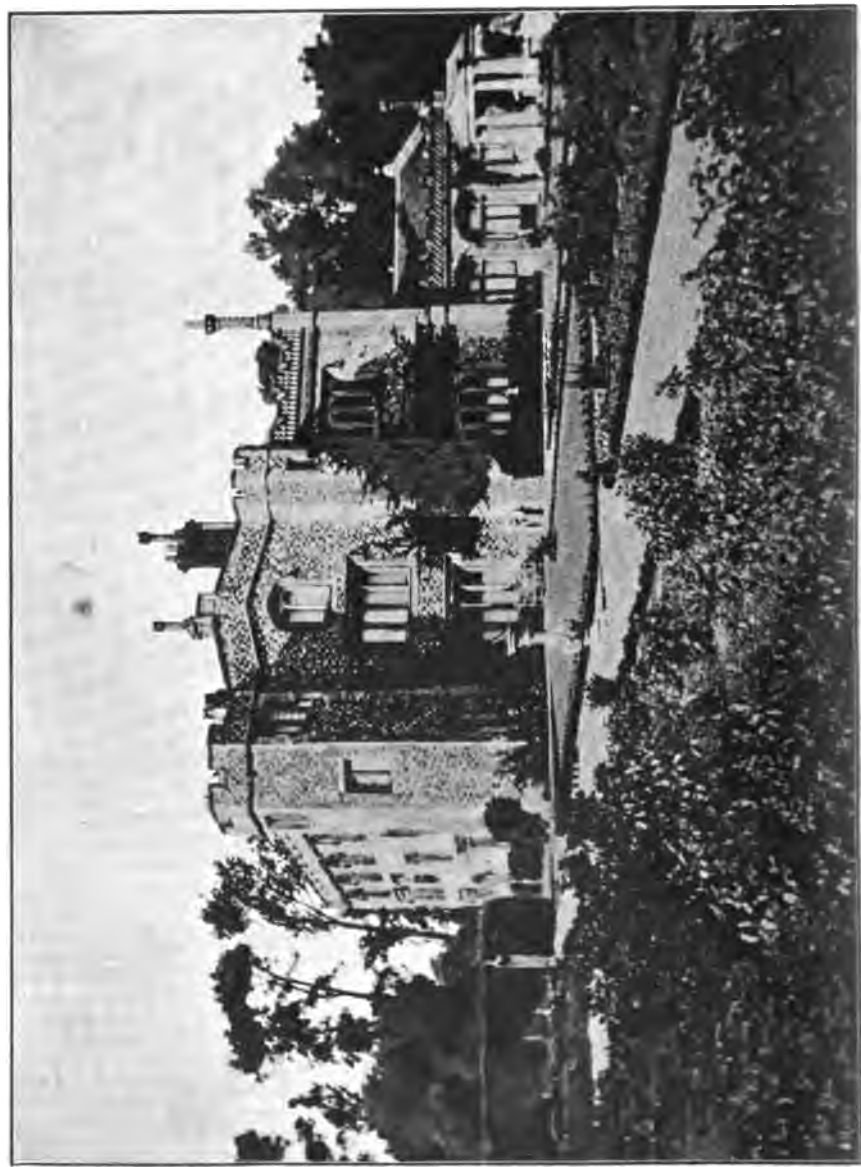
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that the building was not much larger than it appears on the later map. When that was made, however, great changes had taken place in the immediate surroundings. Windows with brick mullions had been inserted in lieu of the earlier lancets. A homestead, including a large barn and two gardens, occupied what was vacant ground before. The barn had a Decorated string course adorned with moulded bricks taken from the Boleyn house at Blickling, which was demolished to make way for the present stately pile built by Sir John Hobart in 1620 (one of the bricks, impressed with the arms of Fastolf, may be seen in the wall on the south side of the front door of Mannington Hall). A road through an avenue, about a mile in length, from the Saxthorpe road to the drawbridge, had replaced the winding lane leading to the same point. Another road, forming an elongated horseshoe, passed through the farmyards. Half of this has since disappeared. The dove-house still remained, but the cartal was gone. Altogether this map represents the typical home of a country gentleman of the eighteenth century.

The view of the hall in the adjoining illustration, taken from a point near the south-west corner of the moat, gives an excellent picture of the towers and battlements, which remain the same as they are represented in the tricked drawing on the earlier map. The tower at the south-east corner of the building contains a recess, cut in the wall of the spiral staircase behind a sliding panel. This is large enough to secrete two persons.

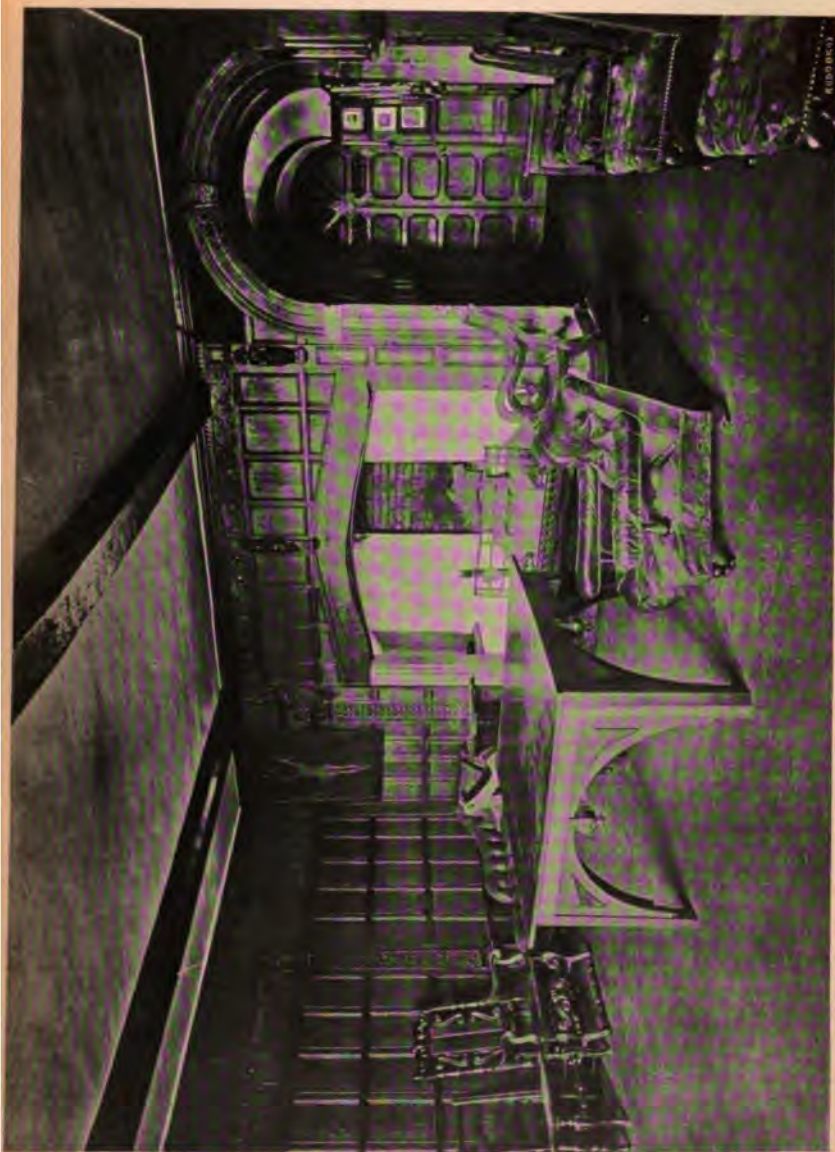
The photograph of the interior represents the original fireplace in the morning-room, which was part of the great hall and was open to the top of the second story, fitted with its minstrels' gallery and other accessories common to dining halls of that date. This room is now enriched with fine oak panels brought from Irmingland Hall, the plinths being surmounted with the badge of the Bacons—

a boar ermine charged with a crescent. A richly-carved overmantel in the drawing-room came from Thwaite Hall. It was said to be part of the debris of the Duke's Palace in Norwich, whose wreck supplied many houses built about the time of its demolition with their best oak carving. The ancient fire-places in the dining-room and the bed-room above it had shields upon them, containing the arms of Lumner, Potts, Monwau, Willoughby, Dodge, and Boteler. Some of these have been effaced, apparently by the action of heat on the surface of the Purbeck marble, of which they are composed.

Lord Orford has kindly furnished me with a list of some of the pictures, which, although not strictly of archaeological interest, may be worth mentioning. On the landing are two full-length portraits of George II. and Queen Caroline by Sir Godfrey Kneller, given by the King to Lord Walpole of Wolterton. In the reception rooms are portraits of Sir Robert Walpole and hounds by Wootton, Cardinal Fleury by Rigaud (given by the Cardinal to Lord Walpole), Horace Walpole by Gainsborough, another by Battoni, Countess of Orford (third) and her sister, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, William Faulkner by Russel, Henry Walpole the Martyr, and Henry Walpole the Martyr's father. These, and many others, with a choice collection of miniatures from Strawberry Hill, are well worth inspection.

INTERESTING REMAINS.

Leaving the house, let us now enter the churchyard, on the south-west side of the road, near to which the visitor will notice two circular depressions in the ground. These are the result of the phenomenon mentioned in the *Philosophical Transactions* for January, 1718. It is there stated that on July 23rd, 1717, in the day time, to the



MANNINGTON HALL—INTERIOR.

To face p. 326.

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AND
ASSOCIATES

astonishment of those who were present, three oak trees were seen to subside and sink into the earth to the depth of 9 ft. 3 ins., water boiling up in the holes around the trunks. In this charming shrubbery, generally known as the Sanctuary, are many objects of local interest. Some so-called Druids' stones, near the entrance, deserve mention. Their polished surface and glaciated scratchings, once, we may suppose, reeking with the blood of victims offered as human sacrifices upon them, carry us back, in imagination, to ages long before the Saxon tumulus, peeping over the hill behind the hall, was raised in honour of the warrior whose ashes may have been contained in one of the urns, the fragments of which, with the ring, beads, buckles, &c., which may now be seen on the table in the hall library, were found, two years ago, by some workmen carting gravel on the hill close by. The grove beyond marks the site of the house of the De Berninghams of Barningham Parva, where, in 1312, Sir Henry de Seagrave, Sir Hugh Tirrel, and twenty-five others, after illtreating the Lady Petronella le Gros, set fire to the house in five places, from which we may assume it was a building of some magnitude. A bank remains which dammed the water to supply the lord's mill. (This place must not be confused with the home of the De Berninghams of Barningham Northwood, afterwards the residence of the Palgraves, a wing of which, with about half the moat, is still in existence).

In the churchyard are some fine priests' coffins, and beside them a row of holy water stoups. There is the apex of a cross that adorned a fane long since demolished; whilst scattered around are numerous fragments of rich tracery that filled the windows of neighbouring religious houses centuries ago. These, happily, have here found a safe asylum, and are fitting adjuncts to the remains of the modest little church erected by Aymer de Valence,

whose coat—barry of ten, argent and azure, over all ten martlets in orle gules—is on a stone shield above the door. This nobleman played an important part in Church work hereabouts, for Corpusty, Saxthorpe, Irmingland, Itteringham, and Barningham Parva owe much in their churches to his munificence. He also founded St. Dunstan's Chapel in Saxthorpe. This was in a field still called Chapel Close, approached from the river by a narrow way called Monks' Lane. His tragic end will be remembered by all, as he fell in a tournament, his wife, Mary de Chattelon, being a bride and a widow the same day.

In taking leave of this fascinating old English home, with its highly-interesting contents and surroundings, whose walls and battlements are mellowed by the lapse of nearly five centuries, we may congratulate ourselves that it has been for many years in the hands of those who have thoroughly appreciated its antiquity by not allowing it to be contaminated by inharmonious surroundings, leaving it to feast the eyes of the antiquary. Let us hope it will so remain for ages longer, to call forth in the archæologist that reverent admiration which can never be roused by inspecting the sumptuous magnificence of the palace of yesterday.

The Hundred of Clackclose and the Civil War.

COMMUNICATED BY

LEONARD G. BOLINGBROKE,

Hon. Sec.

OF "books which are no books—biblia a-biblia," to use the quaint phrase of Elia, none afford so much dull reading as a parish rate book. Its only interest, and that a very doubtful one, is confined to those unfortunates whose names appear within its pages, and its day of reckoning over, it lies neglected in the remotest corner of the official lumber-room until after a peaceful repose of a century or so, it is unearthed by some local antiquary, to whom its pages will reveal the story of the owners and occupiers of the broad lands of the parish.

The Rate Book, however, which Mr. Pratt of Riston Hall has kindly lent to me from his muniment-room, has more than a parochial interest, dealing as it does with the stirring period of our history when King Charles the First and his Parliament were deep in the throes of the Civil War. The book appears to have been compiled by an ancestor of its present possessor, one Edward Pratt of Riston, who was probably acting as constable for the parishes of Riston and Bexwell, in the Hundred of Clackclose. It was his custom to make a note of every warrant or order he received from the Parliamentary Authorities, and from these we can realise how heavy were the charges

assessed upon the various townships of the Hundred, and now and again can obtain some glimpses of the progress of the war as it affected the inhabitants of West Norfolk.

The book does not commence until 1645, in which year on the 19th of July, the inhabitants of Riston and other neighbouring villages were summoned to appear before Sir Valentine Pell and others, at Lynn, to show their "exceptions" against the new rate made for the Hundred and to assist them in making another. We can form some idea what charges had before this time been laid upon the various townships from an account of sums previously paid by the inhabitants of West Dereham. At the commencement of the war in 1642 a sum of £400,000 was required to be raised for the Parliamentary cause, towards which the contribution of West Dereham amounted to £13. 0s. 6d. Blomefield tells us that the weekly contribution appointed by Parliament in March, 1643, to be raised from the county of Norfolk was £1,250, towards which sum West Dereham was called upon to pay £2. 17s. 5d. per month. In January, 1643-4, the weekly sum assessed upon the whole county was raised to £1,875, and the proportion payable by West Dereham was accordingly increased to £4. 7s. per month. The total sum recorded as paid for war taxes by this parish, from July, 1642, to July, 1645, is £92. 1s. 5d., which included a sum of £1 paid on the 11th September, 1643, at the siege of Lynn, for two "pyoners," and a further sum of 10s. for their wages, diet, and tools.

From July, 1645, the various assessments for the southern portion of the Hundred of Clackclose are set forth in greater detail, and for the succeeding five years will be found tabulated as an appendix to the present paper. These tables, while showing what sums were assessed upon each parish, give no indication how the charges affected the individual ratepayer. Let us

see, therefore, whether we can form any estimate of what proportion these charges bore to the income of the ratepayer.

In the months of October and November, 1645, we find that a rate of £25. 17s. 8d. was levied on the parishes of West Dereham and Roxham for the maintenance of the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the proportion of this sum payable by the inhabitants of Roxham amounted to £5. 3s. 6d., which, Mr. Pratt records, required a rate of 8d. in the £. As assessments at the same rate were levied for the succeeding ten months, we see that the inhabitants of Roxham on this item alone must have paid a rate of 4s. in the £ per annum; but concurrently with this assessment were others for the reduction of Newark, for the Scotch, for garrisons, and so forth, which amounted to an additional £59. 15s. 4d., so that the total war charges paid by the inhabitants of Roxham for the year ending November, 1646, must have necessitated a rate of about 5s. 6d. in the £, which makes our 1s. income-tax sink into insignificance.

The foregoing assessments appear only, however, to have been made upon real estate, but by a Warrant dated early in the year 1650, all persons were required to be assessed every three months for their real estates 3d. per £ of their yearly value, or for their personal estates "after the rate of 3d. upon every £20 after this manner, viz., every farmer and owner to be rated for his stock at twice the value of the yearly rent he occupies in lands or real estate, as for example, 'J. D.,' farmer or owner of £40 per annum is to be charged for £80 stock 1s., and after the same rate for a greater or less quantity," and all such persons as occupied stock-in-trade, malthouses, foldcourses, moneys at interest, or any other personal estate more than what the said proportion for the stock of his ground amounted to,

were to be rated after the same rate of 3*d.* upon every £20 of their personal estate.

Let us now turn from the consideration of these rather dull statistics to see what Mr. Pratt's rate book has to tell us concerning the measures taken for the defence of our county, by the raising of troopers and other means.

Early in August, 1645, the following notice was served upon the several Constables of Bexwell cum Riston, Denver, Fordham, Helgay, and Southery:—

“BY virtue of a Warrant to me directed from the Right Worshipful Sir J. Hobart, Knight and Bart., and divers others of the Committee of Norwich, and of an Ordinance of Parliament, and severall directions for the speedy sending away of 143 Horses and 72 dragones to joyne with other forces for the blocking up of Oxford and other garisons adjacent in the enemy's possession, and to keep them from furnishing themselves with means of subsistence, together with the assurance that the trew value of the said horse shal be repayd them againe, according to the aforesaid Ordinance of Parliament. Therefore these are to will and require you that you charge the persons hereunder written to send the sum of £12 for the buying of horse and armes for the 143 horse, and the sum of £6 upon the person hereafter mentioned for the provideing of horse and arms for the 72 dragoons before mentioned, which said mony is by them to be brought to the aforesaid Committee at Swaffham, the 11th of this present August. And if the persons so charged shal send in serviceable light horses they shall be accepted of in part of payment. And for such of them as shall have lately sent in their horses to Grantham, and are againe charged in this list, shal have so much defalked out of the said £12 as the sayd horses and armes were valewed at. And further, I require you to somon in all such as have beene formerly troopers

as are within your severall townes, to appeare at Swafham the 11th day of August next upon the penalty formerly set downe and upon the party harboring of them.

“Your loving friend,

“Ste. Edgar.”

The names of the four persons charged with £12 each were Edmund Skipworth of Fordham, Esq., Francis Badcroft, Esq., and Mr. Bexwell, both of Bexwell, and Mr. Edward Barbar of Denver, while Edward Pratt was himself the person charged with the payment of the £6.

Things were evidently becoming very serious, for a few days later, on the 26th August, the Constables were required to “warne all persons charged with horse dragones or foot armes, trayned or other, and all other persons having horse fit for service of the State, either for light horses or dragoons, and having any manner of armes fit for offence or defence that they bring in their sayd horse, men, and armes to New Buckenham upon the following Wednesday by nine of the clock, to defend themselves from violence and rapine until other forces of the Parliament came to their assistance, and if any should refuse or neglect their owne and the defence of the State in this time of danger they must expect to be proceeded against for their great disaffection and malignancy by fines, seizures of their horse and armes, and secureing of their persons.” All trained men were also charged to forthwith repair to their colours wheresoever they should be, and every soldier was to have a week's pay of the owner of the armes. On the 12th September, all persons charged to find light horse were warned to provide themselves of horse and arms complete and in readiness with them for the defence of the county at an hour's warning.

In response to a warrant, dated 4th October, requiring constables to furnish written accounts of all monies paid

for their several towns for impress money for every soldier impressed, the constable for West Dereham and Roxham furnished the following account:—

	s.	d.
Dec. 15th, 1643. A soldier impressed by Mr. Vincent for Roxham. To the soldier by the town	13	4
Press money and other Constable's charges then	5	0
May 16th, 1644. Ri Papworth (?) impressed for Roxham, dd to him according to order	15	0
Press money, 1s., the Constable charges 3s.	4	0
Oct. 27th, 1644. For pressing a soldier, carrying him to Thetford, where he was released	3	4
The whole sum	£2	0 8

On October 15th, 1645, the Constables of Bexwell, &c., were directed by the Right Worshipful Colonel Sir Edward Ashley to warn all the trained horse, in their several parishes, to appear upon the following Friday, at Downham, before Captain Springall, who had been appointed by the Committee of Norwich to take view of the said horse and to return defaulters.

Instructions of a different character, though equally typical of the period with which we are dealing, were issued to the constables by a warrant, dated the 6th March, 1645, wherein they were ordered to carry or send unto the Committee of Norwich all the Common Prayer Books in the several towns, or in default thereof there would be warrants for the levying of 40s. forfeited by each constable.

A warrant, dated 9th May, 1646, required all trained men to appear in their arms at Totenhill Heath, with every man one pound of powder and two yards of match, upon the following Monday, at 9 o'clock, there to be viewed by

Sir R. Hare, Miles Corbet, Vallentin Walton, and G. Gawsell.

On the 29th August, 1646, the Constables were asked to enquire what the charge of "alarms" and bridge watches had been "ever since the time of these unhappy differences."

Mr. Pratt transcribes "my cos Ed. Scarletts (?) note what days his soldiers was forth upon alarms," which runs as follows:—

1643.	Began at Walton Dixon, June 14th,					
	ended July 30th	..	..	..	46	days.
1644.	Walpoole. April 13th, ended ye 21st..	8	..			
	Began at Wisbech, Oct. 5th, ended					
	Nov. 5th	..	..	..	31	..
	Walton Dixon	..	..	..	14	..
1645.	Began at Wisbech, Mar. 25th, ended					
	Mar. 29th	..	..	..	4	..
	Began at Wisbech, May 30th, ended					
	June 23rd	..	..	..	24	..
	(when they marched into Lincolnshire).					
	Began at Downham, Aug. 26th, ended					
	Aug. 30th	..	..	..	4	..
1646.	Began at ye bridges, May 9th, ended					
	13th	..	..	..	4	..

Each foot soldier when out on these alarms appears to have received 1s. per diem, payable by the person who was charged to furnish such man and arms, the owner of the foot arms, as he was styled.

By notice, dated the 28th December, 1646, all persons charged with finding trained light horse or foot arms were required to see that they were ready at a day's warning to advance in the public service for the preservation of the peace of this county, and Constables were desired to warn Churchwardens "that they permit not any persons to

preach in the parish churches, who by any way or means assisted or countenanced these unholy warrs against the Parliament."

In nearly every village two or three troopers appear, from time to time, to have been quartered on the inhabitants, thus on the 2nd November, 1648, a corporal and two troopers with three horses "came to quarter" at Riston for fifteen days, and on the same day two troopers and two horses were laid upon Roxham, for whose maintenance a rate of 2*d.* in the £ was raised in the latter parish. For every soldier so quartered the Parliamentary authorities however appear to have agreed to allow a weekly sum of 3*s.*

We soon also meet with indications of the misery which a prolongation of the Civil War was sure to bring; thus in January, 1647, the chief inhabitants of the several towns were required to appear personally before Sir R. Hare and Mr. Gawsell at Fincham, to advise and order what course was fitted to be taken for the necessary relief of the poor in this time of scarcity of corn; and again in August, 1648, by a warrant from the Sessions in Norwich, the Constables were required to rate and collect more in every of their towns than they had before for this year 1648, for the hurt, lamed, and maimed soldiers, which sums are hereunder set down, namely 8*s.* 8*d.* upon every town as a benefit.

It would be wearisome perhaps to quote further from this interesting volume, but the foregoing extracts will afford some indication of the nature of the information which it contains. In his *East Anglia and the Civil War* Mr. Alfred Kingston has dealt at some length with the share which Norfolk took in the war as one of the associated counties, but he has only viewed his subject from the national standpoint, while the glimpses which the pages of this rate book afford us are entirely of a parochial nature.

	A 1646. Aug. & Sept.		B 1st moiety, Sept., 1645.		C 1st assessmt. for 4 months.		A 1646. Oct. & Nov.		A 1645. Dec. & Jan.		B 2nd moiety, Jan. 1645-6.		D		C 2nd assessmt. for 4 months.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Crimpleham ..	20	18 10	..	..	4	6 0	18	0 0	..	..	..	..	8	17 4	4	6 0
West Dereham and Roxham ..	22	16 2	2	0 5	6	9 5	25	17 8	25	17 8	2	0 5	12	18 4	6	9 5
Weerham ..	15	8 7	..	..	3	17 9	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	13 6	3	17 9
Stoke & Wretton ..	20	18 5	..	..	5	4 0	21	4 0	..	..	..	..	10	10 4	5	4 0
Boughton ..	17	13 4	..	..	3	17 9	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	13 6	3	17 9
Barton ..	38	5 0	..	..	8	10 6	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	5 8	8	10 6
Beechamwell and Shingham ..	19	19 10	..	..	5	4 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10 4	5	4 0
Riston & Bexwell .	19	15 6	1	10 0	4	14 0	19	3 6	19	3 6	1	10 0	9	9 9	4	14 0
Denver ..	12	17 0	1	10 2	4	14 0	19	3 8	19	3 8	1	10 2	9	9 9	4	14 0
Fordham ..	9	5 8	1	2 6	3	8 6	13	18 0	13	18 0	1	2 6	6	17 6	3	8 6
Helgay ..	17	18 1	1	10 0	4	16 2	19	13 4	19	13 4	1	10 0	9	14 0	4	16 2
Sothory ..	13	6 11	1	2 6	3	8 6	13	18 0	13	18 0	1	2 6	6	17 6	3	8 6

A—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament, dated Feb. 16th, 1644, for raising forces for the defence of the kingdom, under the command in chief of Sir T. Fairfax, by taxing upon the County of Norfolk £7070 per month, for ten months "if the war so long continue," beginning 1st Feb., 1644-5. The proportion for the whole hundred of Clackclose for August and September, 1645, was £278. 1s. 11d. This tax was continued for a further period of six months by an Ordinance dated 13th August, 1645.

B—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, dated August 12th, 1645, for taxing several sums of money upon the Counties of the Association to be employed towards reducing Newark and securing the said Counties, the sums to be reimbursed again out of delinquents' estates. The total of the two moiety charges on Norfolk amounted to £2187. 5s. 8d., of which the proportion payable by the Hundred of Clackclose was £86. 1s. 4d.

	C 3rd assessmt. for 4 months.		A 1645-6. Feb. & Mar.		E For 6 months, from 1st Nov., 1645.		A 1646. April & May.		F 1st moiety.		E For 32 weeks.		G For 1 month.		C 1646. June, July, & August.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Crimplesham ..	..	..	18	0 0	6	1 6	18	0 0	4	7 11½	8	0 0	..	..	3	4 6
West Dereham and Roxham ..	6	9 5	25	17 8	8	14 10	25	17 8	6	12 5	11	13 0	0	12 5	4	17 6
Weerham ..	..	..	15	0 0	5	5 3	15	10 6	3	19 3	7	0 10	..	..	2	18 3
Stoke & Wretton ..	..	..	21	4 0	7	2 10	21	4 0	5	6 2	10	1 8	..	..	3	18 0
Boughton ..	..	..	15	0 8	5	5 3	15	10 8	3	19 3	7	0 10	..	..	2	18 3½
Barton ..	..	..	35	1 0	11	18 8	35	1 0	8	13 6	15	9 8	..	..	6	17 10½
Beechamwell and Shingham ..	..	..	21	4 0	7	2 11	21	4 0	5	6 2	10	1 8	..	..	3	18 0
Biston & Bexwell ..	4	14 0	19	3 6	6	10 0	19	3 6	4	15 8	8	12 8	0	9 2	3	10 9
Denver ..	4	14 0	19	3 8	6	10 0	19	3 8	4	15 8	8	12 8	0	9 2	3	10 9
Fordham ..	3	8 6	13	18 0	4	14 9	13	18 0	3	9 7	6	5 6	0	8 8	2	11 1
Helgay ..	4	16 2	19	13 4	6	13 0	19	13 4	4	18 4	8	17 10	0	9 4	3	11 11
Sothery ..	3	8 6	13	18 0	4	14 9	13	18 0	3	9 7	6	5 6	0	6 8	2	10 11

C—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, dated September 3rd, 1645, for raising £3746 within the Eastern Association for twelve months, beginning 1st June, 1646, for maintenance of garrisons of Newport Pagnell, Bedford, Huntingdon, Lynn Regis, and the Castle of Cambridge. The proportion chargeable on the County of Norfolk for each month was £386. 19s. 5d., and the proportion for four months for the Hundred of Clackclose was £136. 8s. 4d.

D—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for continuing to raise in the County of Norfolk the sum of £1825. 3s. 4d. monthly for the Scotch. The figures in the above column represent a four months' assessment, the assessment for the whole Hundred of Clackclose for the same period being £275.

E—For the maintenance of the British Army in Ireland.

F—Assessed by Eastern Association for alms, £7070 laid upon the whole County and £278. 1s. 11d. on the Hundred of Clackclose.

	G For two weeks.	A 1646. June, July, Aug., & Sept.		A For 6 mths. from 25th Mar. 1647.		H Six months from 1st Feb., 1647-8.		A 6 months from 25 Mar., 1648. 1st moiety.		F 2nd moiety.		A 6th Aug., 1648.		A For 6 months from 26th Mar., 1648 (2nd moiety, less sums paid to Col. Walton).
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Orimlesham ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18 3 0	..	4 7 11½	..	..	..	..
West Dereham and Roxham ..	..	51 15 4	..	52 8 4	17 10 10	..	..	26 4 2	6 12 6	3 19 3	13 2 0	..	..	..
Weerham ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15 13 8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Stoke & Wretton ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21 9 0	5 6 2	..	..	..	..	..
Boughton ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15 13 8	3 19 3	..	..	..	..	..
Barton ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35 8 5	8 13 6	..	..	..	..	..
Beechamwell and Shingham ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21 9 0	5 6 2	..	..	..	..	..
Riston & Bexwell ..	0 4 7	38 7 0	38 15 2	12 18 0	12 18 0	12 18 0	12 18 0	19 7 8	4 15 8	9 12 6	9 13 11	..	..	..
Denver ..	0 4 7	38 7 4	38 15 4	12 18 0	12 18 0	12 18 0	12 18 0	19 7 8	4 15 8	9 12 6	9 13 11	..	..	..
Fordham ..	0 3 4	27 16 0	28 1 10	9 7 1	9 7 1	9 7 1	9 7 1	14 0 11	3 9 7	7 0 0	7 1 0	..	..	..
Helgay ..	0 4 8	39 6 8	39 14 11	13 5 1	13 5 1	13 5 1	13 5 1	19 17 5½	4 18 4	9 17 6	9 19 0	..	..	..
Sothery ..	0 3 4	27 16 0	28 1 10	9 7 1	9 7 1	9 7 1	9 7 1	14 0 11½	3 9 7	7 0 0	7 1 0	..	..	..

G—Levy for the sickness at East Dereham. The County of Norfolk was assessed £80 per week and the Hundred of Clackclose £13. 6s. 8d. per month.

H—Levied under an Ordinance, dated 16th February, 1647, for raising £20,000 a month for six months, from 1st February, 1648, for the relief of Ireland. Proportion for the six months charged on the Hundred of Clackclose, £374. 14s.

*—On payment of the above sums the three months' assessment, from 25th September to 25th December, 1646, were to be remitted.

**—Raised under a warrant from Col. Walton, Governor of Lynn, for raising £280 from the Hundred for the payment of the soldiers there to keep the Town in order.

J—Raised under a warrant from the Standing Committee at Norwich for furnishing beacon watches at Wolverton in the Hundred of Freebridge, upon the alarms in September, 1648, which amounted to £7. 14s. 5d., of which £3. 17s. 4d. was charged on the Hundred of Clackclose.

	A For 6 mths. from Michs., 1648. 1st moiety.	A For 6 mths. from Michs., 1648. 2nd moiety.	J 12th April, 1649.	K For 6 mths. from 25 Mch., 1649. 1st moiety.	K 4th month.	K 5th and 6th months.	KK For further 3 mths. from 29 Sept., 1649.	KKK For 3 months from 25th Dec., 1649.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Crimplesham ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
West Dereham and Roxham ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	39 6 7	8 13 10	17 17 8	26 1 6	26 1 8
Weerham ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	5 2 1	.. ..	15 6 3	.. ..
Stoke & Wretton ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	6 19 9	.. ..	20 19 3	.. ..
Boughton ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	5 2 1	.. ..	15 6 3	.. ..
Barton ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	11 10 8	.. ..	34 12 0	.. ..
Beechamwell and Shingham ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	6 19 9	.. ..	20 19 3	.. ..
Riston & Bexwell ..	19 7 8	19 7 8	0 2 7	29 1 6	6 6 0½	12 12 1	18 18 1½	18 18 1½
Denver ..	19 7 8	19 7 8	0 2 7	29 1 6	6 6 0½	12 12 1	18 18 1½	18 18 1½
Fordham ..	14 0 11	14 0 11	0 2 0	21 1 4	4 11 8	9 3 4	13 15 0	13 15 0
Helgay ..	19 17 5½	19 17 5½	0 2 11	29 16 2	6 9 5	12 18 10	19 8 3	19 8 3
Sothory ..	14 0 11	14 0 11	0 2 0	21 1 4	4 11 8	9 3 4	13 15 0	13 15 0

K—Raised under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of Letters from the Speaker of the House of Commons, dated 7th April, 1649, and also of an Act of Parliament for raising £90,000 monthly, for six months, for the maintenance of the forces in England and Ireland. The monthly proportion on the County of Norfolk for the first three months being £7144. 11s. 7½d., and the proportion on the Hundred £843. 1s. 11d. for the first three months, £133. 6s. 8d. for the fourth month, and £366. 13s. 4d. for the fifth and sixth months.

KK—The assessment for the maintenance of the forces in England and Ireland continued for a further three months, the amount assessed on the whole County per month being £4660, and on the Hundred for the three months £560.

KKK—The assessment for the maintenance of the forces in England and Ireland continued for a further six months at the same rate as **KK**, but every £20 value of personal property to be assessed equally with 20s. rent of real property.

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MANTELPiece AT FAKENHAM.

Mantelpiece at Fakenham.

COMMUNICATED BY

WALTER RYE.

The mantelpiece, of which an illustration is appended, and which differs in style so much from our ordinary Norfolk type, that it may be ascribed to some "foreign" carvers, came from an old Elizabethan manor house which stood near Fakenham, and was the residence of the Gwyn family for many generations, having been purchased from one Christofer Barrett, in 1593, by Rice Gwyn, Barrister of the Inner Temple, afterwards a Serjeant-at-law.

It appears that Mr. Gwyn lived at Snoring Parva until 1612, where he possessed lands, but in 1613 he moved to Fakenham.

No distinctive name seems to have been attached to the house in the earlier period, but on a map of the property, dated 1800, it is called "Barn's Hall," and in Hamond Gwyn's will, dated 1801, it is called "Barns or Baron's Hall." From 1777 it was leased to a Mr. Henry Child, and finally fell into such bad repair that it was demolished in 1812, a new house having been built, in 1804, on a neighbouring site. The chimneypiece was removed to the new house, where it still remains, and no doubt, to preserve it, was painted and varnished; but the oak panneling was sold. Rice Gwyn's portrait, dated 1600, with that of his son is still in existence. It will not bear reproduction,

being too faded, but represents a gentleman in a ruff, with his right hand resting on a boy's shoulder. The inscription is "Anno Dñi 1600—Mass sue (? Ætat sue) 48"; and under the boy, "Æt sue 11," with the crest and arms of Gwyn quartering Ap Tonwerth.

On the death of Anthony Gwyn, in 1861, the property was divided between the children by his first marriage, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. G. A. Watson of Fakenham.

The arms on the shield to the left are Gwyn, Gules, a chevron between three lions rampant or [attributed to Hwfa ap Cynddelw of Pressaddred, Anglesea, who lived 1130], impaling the same coat for Thorsby.

On the right are :—(1) Gwyn, as before; (2) a chevron between three crows [Ap Tonwerth]*; (3) a chevron between three stags' heads cabossed [Lloyd]†; (4) on a bend three martlets [Wyn]‡.

The following pedigree will show the descent of the property from Serjeant Gwyn :—

<p><i>Rice Gwyn</i> of Bodfeddan, Anglesea = Mary, daughter of Edw. Thorsby of Bocking, Essex. (son of John Gwyn of Bodyncham, Sheriff of Anglesea, 1542-1677, a grandson of Rhys Gwyn of the same place, who is said to have taken 300 men to Bosworth, and to have been appointed Sheriff of Anglesea for life, 1485), Lord of the Manor of Little Snoring, Norfolk, afterwards of Fakenham, Serjeant-at-law, Recorder of Norwich and Yarmouth, M.P. for Norwich. Died December, 1629.</p>	<p>—</p>	<p>Mary, daughter of Edw. Thorsby of Bocking, Essex.</p>
--	----------	--

<p>Rice Gwyn of Fakenham, Lord of Little Snoring. Died between Oct., 1649, and June, 1650, aged 59.</p>	<p>—</p>	<p>Elizabeth Died 29 Oct., 1654 : buried at Heigham.</p>
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(a)

* Hwleyn of Pressaddred married Erddylad, daughter and heiress of David ap Tonwerth.

† Llewelyn married Maroli, daughter and heiress of Jevan Lloyd.

‡ Rhys, Sheriff of Anglesey, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Rhys Wyn. Whether these descents or arms ever existed I am not competent to say.

(a)

Rice Gwyn of Fakenham, Lord of Little Snoring. Died (intestate) between 1668 and April, 1669, aged 46; buried at Redgrave. = Alice, daughter of Sir Robert Bacon, Bart., of Redgrave, Suffolk (through whom a Royal descent through Eliz. Stapleton).

Rice Gwyn of Fakenham, Lord of Little Snoring till 1674, Oct. 17. Died between April and Oct., 1689, aged 41. = Mary, daughter of Anthony Hamond of South Wootton, Norfolk. Died 13 June, 1721.

Rice Gwyn. = Etheldreda. Died 14 Feb. 1720, aged 44.

Hamond Gwyn = Mary, daughter of Fakenham. D. of Dey Syer of Fakenham. Died 3 July, 1759, aged 74. April, 1747.

Nicholas Gwyn = Rebecca Little of of Fakenham. D. Peterborough. 20 Jan., 1798, aged 87. *s.p.*

Anthony, of = Mary, daughter Pensthorpe. Died of Wm. Meek of Ryburgh. Died 13 April, 1784, aged 65. 21 April, 1798, aged 81.

Hamond Gwyn of Pensthorpe, Fakenham. Died 9 Aug., 1805, aged 63. = Frances, daughter and sole heiress of John Pigge of Fakenham. Died June, 1822, aged 70.

Sarah = Anthony = Mary Stedman Gwyn Mercer, of Fakenham. Acton.

Richard = William Gwyn of = Mary, dau. Gwyn Tasburgh. D. 28 of Edward Batch of Fakenham. Michael. June, 1880. Commander R.N., J.P. for County.

Hamond Stedman ↑ Tatham Gwyn, Director of Navy contracts. = Anthony (Capt.).

Hamond Weston = Georgina Gwyn, General, R.M.L.J., A.D.C. to the Queen. Died 18 Jan., 1898. C. Harris.

Elizabeth, dau. of S. Postle of Horstead. = Richard Gwyn. D. 1851. = Eliz. da. of Isaac Preston of Yarmouth.

Howard = Edith Cecil. Basil. Weston B. Born — Gwyn of Greig. 1867. Lawrence. Woodhall Spa.

Richard = Hannah Hamond, Spark-hall Rector of S. Repps. Cubitt.

Col. Reginald = Henrietta Thorsby Gwyn Sophia, da. & sole heiress of Isaac Jermyn of Stanfield Hall. D. 1870. (now of Bath) mar. secondly Miss Mary Johanna Farr Preston, da. of Isaac Preston, Esq., the Denes, Gt. Yarmouth, by whom he has a dau. Mary.

Cyril. ↑ Gerald. ↑ Canadian Branches.

Lionel Tatham. Born 1880. And others.

Reginald Pres- = Isabel, youngest daughter of the ton Jermyn Gwyn late Major Nicholson of Thelwell, (Captain, Royal Cheshire. Fusiliers).

Anthony Joseph Jermyn Gwyn. Born 1896. And others.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee and at General Meetings.

January 18th, 1899. Committee Meeting. Mr. MILLARD exhibited a carved figure, probably of an angel, holding two keys in his right hand and a church in his left. The carving was believed to have come from a Norwich Church. Mr. Millard also exhibited a bronze or latten seal of Richard Blauwic. This seal was exhibited at a Committee Meeting held on January 2nd, 1873, when Mr. Fitch suggested that the original coat of arms had been erased, and those of the Rev. Dr. Sutton (a former owner of the seal) inserted. The seal, however, had since (December 2nd, 1897) been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, when it was pronounced that not the least appearance of any tampering with the seal was visible.

May 5th, 1899. Annual Meeting. The Rev. H. J. D. ASTLEY drew attention to some discoveries he had made recently in the Church of East Rudham, and Dr. Bensly referred to the threatened re-building of the Thetford Town Hall. It was moved by Mr. Hotblack, seconded by Dr. Bensly, and carried, that the Society would view with regret the total destruction of the old Town Hall at Thetford.

January 12th, 1900. Committee Meeting. Mr. Walter Rye was proposed by the President, and elected a delegate to represent the Society at the Congress of Archæological Societies. Dr. Bensly reported that he had been the

previous day at Shotesham Church, and had seen some frescoes which had been discovered there during the recent restoration.

March 30th, 1900. Mr. Walter Rye intimated that he proposed to leave to the Society his very large collection of Norfolk Illustrations, made by the late Mr. J. Smith of 212, Regent Street, London, and which he purchased at Mr. Smith's Sale, on the understanding that the collection should be accessible to the public generally, and Dr. Bensly on behalf of the Society, expressed his appreciation of Mr. Rye's most valuable offer. The Secretary reported the following gifts of books, &c.:—*The Revised Catalogue of the Records of the City of Norwich*, from Mr. J. C. Tingey; *The History of Cawston*, from Mr. George Cawston; *The Brasses of St. Alban's Abbey*, from Mr. W. Page; and a number of engravings of Norwich, from Mr. Alfred Norgate; and votes of thanks were passed to the respective donors.

April 25th, 1900. Annual Meeting. A vote of thanks was given to the Rev. A. G. Legge for the gift of a copy of his book on *The Italian Ancestors of the Legges*.

June 29th, 1900. Committee Meeting. DR. BENSLY reported the recent discovery of a tenth or eleventh century Headstone Cross in the Churchyard at Whissonsett.

December 18th, 1900. Committee Meeting. Sir Peter Eade having presented to the Society a copy of his *History of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital*, General Bulwer proposed a vote of thanks to him for the same, which was unanimously carried.

INDEX TO VOL. XIV.

- Abbot, John, 110
 Abbot of St. Edmund, The, 18, 49
 Abelot, William, 53
 Abot, Henry, 24, 30
 — Robert, 51
 Acketon (doublet), 292
 Acora, Simon, 307
 Acton, 343
Acts of the Privy Council (Dasent) quoted, 240
 Adam, Dominus, 230
 — (serviens), 306, 307
 — son of Nicholas the Reeve, 28
 Ad Crucem, Stephen, 52
 Adderley, Shropshire, brass there, 66
 Agas, Willelmus, 309
 "Agistacio" explained, 280, 281
 Agnus Dei (Holy Wax), 167
 Allesway, The, 137, 138
 Akeman Street, 138
 Alanus Clericus, 298
 — (serviens), 306
 Albin, William de, 141
 Albon, Johannes, 310
 Albry, John, 43
 Alcock, Adam, 30. *See also* Alecock
 Aldborough, Braas at (1485), 249
 Alderford, Edmund, 277, 311
 — Edmundus de, 316, 319
 Alderforth, Willelmus de, 297
 Alecock, Adam, 52, 55
 — Alvena, wife of Peter, 52
 Alecock, Peter, 52
 Alemannia, Simon de, 311
 Alen (Aley) Agnes, widow of Thomas, 209
 — — Thomas, 165, 202, 208
 — Thomas (Alderman), 209, 213
 Alexander, Willelmus, 308
 Aley, Richard, 36
 — Robertus, 316
 — *See* Alen
 Alfred, Hugo, 37
 Alicia, ancilla Willelmi prepositi, 21
 Allen, J. Romilly, 101
 Alpe, Thomas, 43
 Alured, Henry, 21. *See also* Alured
 — William, 21. *See also* Alured
 Alured, John, son of William, 21, 45
 — Henry, 45
 — William, 45
- Amiot, William, 37
Ancient Armour (Hewitt), quoted, 291
Ancient Deeds, Catalogue of (P.R.O.) quoted, 150
 André, J. Lewis, F.S.A., on Female Head-dresses exemplified by Norfolk Brasses, 241—262
 Andreas "pultor," 304
 — (serviens), 304, 310
 Andrew, son of Gilbert, 26
 Androse, Mr. (the preacher), 89, 97
 Anegos, Hughtred de, 45
 Angell, Dame Juliana (vowess), brass, 258
 Ankersmith, Benedictus, 300
 Anne, Queen of Richard III., 248
 Annulet, William, 32
 Antingham, brass (1562) at, 261
 Appleyard, Henry, commonplace book of, 143
 Appelyerd, Bartholomeus de, 306
 — Bartholomeus, 313, 315, 319
 — William de, 305
 Appleyerd, Willelmus, 315
 Ap Tonwerth, arms, 342
 — — David, 342
 — — Erddylad, 342
Archaeological Institute Proceedings quoted, 149
Archaeological Journal quoted, 136
Archæologia quoted, 117, 148, 149
 Archæological Society of Lincs and Notia visit Lynn district (1896 *Report*, ii.)
 "Armati" (armed men), the precise meaning of, 269
 Armeiard, Richard, 51
 Armorial Bearings:—
 Ap Tonworth, 342
 De Valence, 328
 Fastolf, 67, 68, 69
 — On brick at Mannington Hall, 325
 Gwyn, 342
 Lloyd, 342
 Mercers' Company, 65
 Rugge, 65
 Wyn, 342
Armour of Norwich Militia (14th Century):—
 Arms and hands, 292
 Body, 292
 Legs, 293
 Neck and head, 291

Armour (14th Century), continued:—

Surcoat, 293

Weapons, 293

Armour and Arms described:—

Acketon, 292

Aventail, 292

Bacinet, 291

Baculus, 293, 294

Brassarts, 292

Breech piece, 292

Coters de fer, 292

Coudiere, 293

Cutellus, 293

Doublet, 292

Gauntlets, 293

Gunarium cum pulvere, 294

Gysarm, 294

Hachia, 294

Hauberk, 292

Lunett, 293

Pauise de maille, 292

Pisan, 292

Pollex, 294

Purpoint, 292

Rerebras, 292

Surcoat, 293

Spartha, 294

Umbrer, 292

Vantbras, 292

Wefle, 294

Wyex, 294

Arms on fireplaces in Mannington Hall, 326**Armstrong, Rev. B. J., reads paper on Heydon Church (1900 Report, iii.)****Arms, Views of, and Array, 14th Century
Rolls of (Norwich), for Berstrete sublete,
299**

— Conesford lete, 295, 316

— Conesford sublete, 296

— Mancroft lete, 302, 316

— Over the Water lete, 310, 316

— Wymer lete, 305, 312, 314, 316

"Arrayacio" explained, 290, 281

Arundel, Earl of, 23

Ashcroft, John, 49

Ashley, Col. Sir Edward, 334

Ashwellthorpe, 129

**Ashwellthorpe, Effigy of Joan de Thorpe at
(c. 1420), 245**

Ashfield, 44

Assartum novum. See Terra Assarta**Assize of bread taken at Yarmouth, 89****Astley, Rev. H. J. D., reports discoveries at
East Rudham Church (1899 Report, i.), 344**— Reads Paper on Briefs recorded in the
Syderstone Pariah Register (1900 Report, ii.)**Ate Grene, Richard, 37**

— Hyl (del Hel), Robert, 48

— Milne, Ralph, 36

— William, 37

— Wro, John, 43

**Athel, Johannes, 317. See also Atte Hyl,
ate Hyl, &c.****Atkyns, Isabel, 183****Attebrigg, Johannes, 314****Attecherche, Genicia, 45****Attehel, Robert, 51****Atteherne, Peter, 51****Atte Falgate, Thomas, 24, 30**

— Greene, Emma, 27

— Grene, *see* Grene

— Agnes, 28

— John, 26

— Gren, Johannes, 311

— Hill, Geoffrey, 24

— Lane, Thomas, 306

— William, 290

— Medwe, William, 39

— Mor, Thomas, 306

— Strete, Thomas, 306

— Tomblond, Thomas Barbour, 308

— Tounesende. *See* Tounesende— Water, *see* Water

— Alicia, 27

— Andrew, 37

— Geoffrey, 39

— Nicholaus, 307

— Walter, 27

— William, 11, 12, 32, 35, 39

Attilburgh . . . de, 306**Attire (tire), its meaning, 262****Aubry, Alicia, 37**

— Emma, 37

— William, 48

— son of Robert (de Langham), 49

— jun., of Langham, 44

— sen., of Langham, 44

Aunselm, Adam, 50, 51, 55**Avelina, widow of John the carpenter, 35****Aventail (part of bacinet), 292****"Averagium" explained, 40****Aylild (tenement), 50. See also Aylild****Aylon, M., 225****Aylaham Church visited (1900 Report, iii.)**

— Shroud Brass at (1499), 292

Aylild, William, 44**Ayscroft, Katherine de, 51****Beas, Adam, 280, 306, 312, 315****Babewe, Johannes de, 307****Babewelle, John de, 307****Babingle, Sir Simon de, 257****Bacinet described, 291, 292****Back, Mr. Philip, his death (1900 Report, iii.)****Bacon badge on panels at Mannington Hall,
325**

— Adam de, brass (1310), 66

— Alice, 343

— Sir Robert, Bart., 343

Baconsthorpe, Brass at (1541), 254, 255**Bacoun, Henricus, 297****Baculus (staff), 293, 294**

Bacune, Margaret, 221
 — William, 221
 Badcroft, Francis, 333
 Baile, Walterus, 299
 Baketon, Ricardus de, 308
 Bakford, Willelmus, 302
 Baldeswell, Nicholaus de, 306, 313
 Baldewyne, Walterus de, 316
 Balheved, Robert, 52
 Balinge (war vessel), 261
 Ballis, Alice, wife of Richard, 210
 — Richard, 163, 167, 210, 217
 Balsum, Robert, 96
 Baman, Thomas, 316
 Banbyri, Henricus de, 307
 Banham, 11, 138, 139, 140
 — Field, 10
 — Manor, An extent of (1261), 5, 10-17, 32-43
 Banham Manor (1261) :—
 — General analysis of, 10-17
 — Particular analysis of, 32-43
 — The lord's demesne in, 10, 32-34
 — Freeholders in, 10, 11, 35
 — Customary tenants in, 11-14, 35-36, 39-40
 — Molmen, 14-15, 36-38, 40-42
 — Tenants bound to special suit of court, 15-17, 38, 41
 — Summary of rents and services, 42
 Banham Outwode, 43
 — Willelmus de, 301
 Banker, a long cloth for a bench, 195
 Barbar, Edward, 333
 Barbour, Thomas, 308
 Barburgh, Thomas, 310
 Barcar', William, 38
 Bardolf, John, 267, 290, 312, 315
 — John, of Wermegele, 295
 Bardolph, J. de, 314, 315
 Bardwell, 10, 16, 19. *See* Berdewell
 — (Berdewell), 23
 — Suffolk, Wykes Manor in, extent of, 6, 17-23, 43-56
 Barfot, Thomas, 299
 Barkere, Alexander, 307
 — Roger, 309
 Barker, Avelyna, 36
 — Johannes, 311
 — Richard, 36
 — Walterus, 304
 — Willelmus, 304
 Barnham, 140
 — Cross Common, 139
 — Robertus de, 309
 Barningham, 324
 — Northwood, Brass at (1516), 251-2
 — Parva, 328
 Barn's or Baron's Hall, Fakenham, residence of Gwyn family, 341
 Baroun, Johannes, 298
 Barrett, Christofer, sells house at Fakenham to Rice Gwyn, 341

Barham, Johannes de, 308
 — Johannes Tailor de, 308
 Bartham (Suffolk), 129
 Barton, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Basingham, Stephanus, 306, 313, 317
 Bastwyk, Johannes de, 311
 Batalie, Walter, 23
 Bateman, Rev. J. F., 60
 Bawburgh, Shroud brass (male), at (1660), 262
 Bawdkyn, rich silk stuff, 195
 Baxter, Brass to Christiana, widow of Rob. (1432), 259
 — Johannes, 299
 Baxtere, Ricardus, 299
 Beall's Hill Meadow, 146
 Beamund, Stephanus, 300
 Bearde, James, 91
 Beauchamp, Philippa de, brass (c. 1383), 244, 257
 Beaumont, John, Viscount, 62
 Beccles, 149
 — Nicholaus de, 304
 Becham, Peter, son of Robert de, 23
 Beechamwell, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Bedford, 338
 Bedyngfeld, "My sister," 129
 Bee, Robert le, 29
 Beerd (tenement), 44
 Beeston—Church and Priory visited (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 — Priory Sheep Walk, Paper on (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 Beever, Sir Hugh, Bart., possessor of Sir M. Branthwayt's notebook, 128
 Beise. *See* Bice.
 Belagh, Thomas de, 306
 Bell, Brass (1631) to Jane, wife of Sinolphus, 257
 Beloe, E. M., *On the Great Fen Road*, 137
 — describes Castle Rising (1896 *Report*, ii.)
 Beloe (E. M., jun.) *Photolithograph Brasses* quoted, 66
 Bencelyn, Ricardus, 306, 313, 315
 Benslye, Richard, 129
 Bensly, Dr. W. T., & W. H. St. John Hope, Recent discoveries in Norwich Cathedral, 105-127
 Bensly, Dr. W. T., reports frescoes at Shotesham Church, 345
 — Reports discovery of Cross in Whissonsett Churchyard, 345
 — Refers to threatened destruction of Thetford Town Hall, 344
 — On discoveries at Norwich Cathedral (1899 *Report*, i.)
 "Bercarius," Hugo, 36
 Bercher, John le, 44
 Berd, Andreas, 330
 — Petronilla, 38
 — William, 36, 37
 Berdewell, Church of St. Peter, 50, 51, 52
 — Elisabeth, 250

- Berdewell, John, son of William de, 45
 — Henry de, 48, 51, 52
 — William, 45, 250
 Bereford, Johannes, 313
 Berford, Johannes de, 305, 320
 Berforth, Adam de, 309
 Bergh Apton, 143
 Berghmakere, Gilbertus, 307. *See* Berugham
 Berney, Brass to Elizabeth, wife of John
 (1474), 249
 Berney, Walter de, 290, 306. *See also*
 Burney
 Berningham. *See* De Berningham
 Bernyngham, Jacobus de, 307
 — Willemus de, 307
 Berte, Adam, 316
 Bert, Andreas, 304
 — Radulphus, 310
 Berugham-maker, Gilbertus, 313
 — (Berwham—Berhom), explained, 313
 Bery, Johannes de, 317
 — Ricardus de, 303
 Besthorp, Philippus de, 304
 Betele, Nicholaus de, 307
 Beaumund (tenement), 50, 54
 Bexwell, Mr., 333
 — 329, 333, 334, 337, 338, 339, 340
 — cum Riston, 333
 Bice, a blue pigment, 188
 Bilham (Byllern), Sir William, 187; priest,
 303, 213
 Billarickye (Billericay), 98
 Billinghamurst (Sussex), Brass at (1499), 253
 Biltham, Thomas de, 304
 Bishop, Bartholomeus, 303, 314
 Bishop, John, 27, 89, 309
 Biston, Sir Richard (priest), 193
 Bixton, Andreas de, 317
 — Robertus de, 305
 — Walterus de, 305, 312, 313, 315
 Bixtone, Walter de, 290, 284, 285
 Blackburn Hundred, Suffolk, 139
 — Subsidy Roll for (1283), 20
 Blakene, Radulphus de, 316
 — Willemus de, 230, 237, 303, 316, 319
 Blanwic, Richard, his seal exhibited, 344
 Bleckstere. *See* Le Bleckstere
 Blekestere, Beatrix le, 13, 36
 — William le, 13, 36
 Blenerhasset, Jane, Brass to (1521), 252, 259
 Bliborough (Blythburgh), 98
 Bliburgh, John de, 273, 298
 — William de, 373, 395
 — Willemus de, 298, 299
 Blickling, Brass (1458) at, 260
 — (1479) at, 360
 — (1485) at, 249
 — (1512) at, 252
 — Brick from old Boleyn home there, used
 at Mannington Hall, 325
 — Hall visited (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 — Petrus de, 303, 304
 Blicling, Matheus de, 309
 — Simon de, 305, 313, 315, 316
 Bliclyng, Jacobus de, 296
 Bliklyng, Willelmus de, 303, 316
 Blo, Geoffrey le, 23, 23, 56. *See also* le Blo
 — Juliana le, 36
 Blofeld, Johannes de, 290, 307
 Blome John, 240
 — William (Norwich), 90
 Blomefield's *Norfolk* quoted, 23, 35, 63, 82, 94,
 187, 190, 202, 203, 209, 210, 213, 222, 267
 Boeking, Essex, 342
 Bodekiahham, Henricus, 306, 313, 315, 319
 Bodfeddan, Anglesey, 342
 Bodynoham, 342
 Boileau, Sir Francis G. M., Bart., his death
 (1900 *Report*, i.)
 Bois, Lady Margaret de, effigy (c. 1390), 244
 Bokelermaker, Rogerus, 317
 Bokenham, Petronilla de, 300
 — (admitted to citizenship), 274
 — Willemus de, 307, 308
 Bolding, Mr. W. J. J., Death of (1899
Report, iii.)
 Bole, William, 38
 Boleyn, Brass to Cecily (1458), 260
 — to Anna (1479), 260
 — Anne (Queen), 254
 Bolingbroke, L. G., Hon. Sec. The Hundred
 of Clackcloos and the Civil War, 329-340
 — describes Pilgrims' Hall (1898
Report, i.)
 — describes St. Mary Coalany Church
 (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 — reads notes on Runton and Beeston
 (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 — acquires the "Strangers' Hall" in
 Norwich and receives the Society there
 (1900 *Report*, ii.)
 Bomsted, Nicholaus de, 317
 Bomstede, Johannes de, 317
 — Petrus de, 317
 — Thomas de, 316. *See* Bumpsted
 Bonde, Johannes, 307
 Bone, William, 28
 Bonewell, Alicia de, 235
 — Ricardus de, 302
 — Robertus de, 303, 304, 309
 — Walterus de, 235
 — Willemus de, 307, 309
 Bonnett, Mr. (1 Ponette), 97
 Bonyngton, Henricus de, 296, 301
 Books of Common Prayer ordered to be sent
 in, 334
 Boon (bene) Works explained, 31
 Bordclevere, Willelmus, 308
 Borley Manor, Essex, 12
 Bosard, Brass to Margery, wife of Philip
 (1490), 249
 Boteler, Galfridus, 305, 319
 — Arms at Mannington Hall, 326
 Bothe, Willelmus, 309

- Botman, Elias, 296
 — Semannus, 298
 Botone, Rogerus de, 311
 Boughton, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Bou', Robert, 218
 Bout, Willelmus, 309
 Bouteil's Monumental Brasses and Slabs
 quoted, 66
 Bowyer, Johannes, 306
 Boy Bishop, his ornaments, 162, 171-2
 Boyland, John de, 274, 296, 300
 Bradcar, 10, 11, 13
 — Manor, An extent of, in Shropham (1298),
 5, 6-10, 23-32
 Bradcar Manor in Shropham (1298)—
 General analysis of, 6-10
 Particular analysis of, 23-32
 Freeholders in, 6-7, 24-29
 Molmen in, 7-8, 29-30
 Lord's demesne, 9-10, 30-31
 Customary tenants in, 8-9, 30
 Bradok, Robert de, 25
 — Walter de, 24
 Braham, Brass to Joan (1519), 268
 Braklond, John, son of Thomas de, 44
 Brakelond, William de (chaplain), 44, 51
 Brampton, Shroud brass at (1468), 262
 — Nicholas de, 308
 Brandeston, Johannes de, 308
 Brandon Ferry, 137
 Branthwayt, Arthur, 130
 — Elizabeth, 129, 130
 — Henry, 128, 129
 — Margaret, 129
 — Mary, 129, 130
 — Sir Miles, A notebook of (1605), 128-134
 — Miles, 128, 129
 — — His birth and marriage, 129
 — — Dates of his children's births, 129,
 130
 Brassarts (arm armour), 292
 Brasses, The, of St. Alban's Abbey (Page)
 presented to this Society, 345
 — Female Head-dresses as shewn in
 Norfolk, 241, 262
 — in St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, 68
 — Shrouds represented on, 261, 262
 Brasyere, Willelmus, 308
 Braunche, Robert, and his wives, brass
 (1364), 242
 Bray, Philippus, 296
 Braye, Richard, 240
 Breckles (Norfolk), 130
 Breckles, John de, 23
 Breckles, William de, 28
 Breechpiece, (armour), 292
 Brekemast, Rogerus, 308
 Breckles Magna, 7, 24
 — Alice de, 24
 — John de, 7, 24
 Brembre, William de (Mayor of London), 264
 Bretain, Thomas, 30
 Breton, Basilia, 29
 — Henry, 25
 — William le, 25, 28, 51
 Bretun (tenement), 17, 48, 51
 Brewen, Sir William (priest), 191
 Brews, My Lady, 208
 Brid, Matilda, 43
 Bridlington, St. John of, 121
 Brigg, Johannes atte, 314
 Brigge, Thomas, 323
 Brighthwyne, Alice (de Stanton), 50
 Brialley Church visited (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 Brok, Johannes, 314
 Brokdisah, Alicia, 309
 Brokedisah, Reginaldus, 304
 — Robertus, 309
 — Rogerus, 311
 Brome Close, 145, 146
 — Hills, 146
 Bromholme, Prior of, 48
 Bromholm, Hugo de, 270
 Brook, Henry de, 69
 — Willelmus de, 305
 Brotherhood, The, a Court of the Cinque
 Ports, 78
 Broun, Bartholomeus, 296, 300, 318
 Brown, Charles John (architect), 105
 — Elizabeth, 323
 — Hugo, 317
 — Thomas, 122, 306
 Browne, Rev. Canon H., Death of (1899
 Report, iii.)
 — Mr. (Controller), 89
 — Margaret, 251
 — Thomas (bishop), 119
 Brundal, Hugo de, 296
 Brundisse, Thomas, 308
 Brything, John, 26
 Buckenham, Old, Castle, 141
 — New, 383
 — — Town and Castle, 141
 — See also Bakenham
 Buckram, stuff for linings, 198
 Bude (tenement), 44, 45, 52
 — Alicia, 50
 — Geoffrey, 50, 55
 — Henry, 50
 — — (chaplain), 45
 — — son of Hugo, 55
 — Hugo, 45, 50
 — J., 50
 — John, 44, 50
 — Robert (tenement), 17
 — William, 45, 48
 — — (chaplain), 45
 Bakenham, Robert de, 27. See also Bucken-
 ham
 Bullock, Walter, 26
 Bullok, Johannes, 309
 — Willelmus, 307
 Bulmerty, Johannes, 309
 Bulneys, Johannes, 296, 297

- Bultermouth, Adam, 296
 Bulver, General, receives Members of this Society at Heydon Hall (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 — J. R., Q.C., Death of (1898 *Report*, v.)
 Bumpsted, Alicia de, 306
 — Robert de, 290, 305, 307
 — Robertus de, 312, 313, 315, 317
 — Thomas de, 319, 320
 Bumpstede, Thomas de, 303
 — Galfridus de, 304. *See* Bomsted
 Bumsted, Petrus de, 305
 Bunch, Robertus, 306
 Bungeye, Radulphus de, 311
 Bungey, Reginald de, 303
 — Robertus de, 302
 Buntyn, John, 43
 — Wyll'm, 226
 Bunwell, Ricardus de, 303
 Burdeaux, Guydo de, 296, 299
 Burdeux, Willelmus de, 297
 Burel, Johannes, 310
 Burgh Castle (Suffolk), 143, 149
 Burgh (Wheatacre, Norfolk), 143
 Buri, Johannes de, 297
 Burnevill (tenement) in Guandeshale, 44
 Burny, Geoffrey, 24, 30
 — Thomas de, 24, 30
 Burrows, Prof. Montague, his *Cinqus Ports* quoted, 70
 Burwode, Christiana de, 280
 Bury St. Edmund's, 150, 151, 255
 — The abbot of, 13, 49
Bury Wille (Camden Soc.) quoted, 255
 Busteny (bustian), a cotton fabric, 193
 But, Johannes, 310, 319
 — Willelmus, 310
 — — filius Thomae, 317
 — — senr., 316
 Butcher, Mr. H. F., Death of (1898 *Report*, v.)
 Butcher's Close, 146
 Buttrey, Brass to Ela, 259-60
 Buxton, Johannes de, 303
 Buxhale, John de, 17, 50, 51
 Bygot, Roger, Earl of Norfolk, 59
 Byng, Willelmus, 299
 Byrch, Walterus, 307
 Byschop, Bartholomew, 317
 Byteryng, Ricardus de, 230, 316, 319

 Calstor, 136
 — (by Norwich), 147, 148, 149
 Calibut, Frances, 323
 Calkhill, Richard de, 27
 Calthorpe, Brass to Elizabeth (1562), 261
 Cambridge Castle, 338
 — Hill at, 151
 — St. Benet's Church, Pre-Norman work at, 53
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Proceedings quoted, 137
 Camlet (chamlet), a stuff of uncertain origin, 201

 Canne, Margaret, 37
 — Peter, 38
 — Ranulph, 13, 32, 36
 Cantele, Hugo de, 230, 305, 306, 313. *See also* Cauntele
 Cantele, Thomas de, 317
 Canterbury, St. Thomas of, his life embroidered on orphrey of a cope, 160, 196
 Cappe Adam, 38
 "Cariagium" explained, 40
 Carleton, Herr' de, 310
 — Robertus filius Johannes de, 304
 — William, 211, 236
 Carlton, Simo de, 304, 306
 Caroline, Queen, portrait at Mannington Hall, 326
 Carpenter, Henry, 25
 — John, 25, 23
 — William, 36
 Carre, John, 240
 Carrell, Sir John, 129
 Cartere, Walterus, 298
 Castelacre, Henricus de, 303
 Castle Acre visited (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 — Rising visited (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 Castre, Bartholomew de, 309
 — Rogerus de, 309
 Cathedral. *See* under Norwich
 Cattaway Bridge, 98
 Catton, Johannes de, 309
 — Ricardus de, 311
 Cauntele, Hugo de, 312
 Caux, John le, 28
 — (Cauz, Caux, Cauce), Richard le, 26
 Caux (Caus), Roger le, 23, 25
 Causton, John de, 270, 271, 295, 299, 316
 — Willelmus de, 307
 Cauendish, William de, 45
 Cavenham, 139
Cawston, Parish History presented to this Society by Mr. G. Cawston, 345
 "Centenarius" (captain of a company of 100 men), 272
 Century, Sixteenth, Recipes, 126-134
 Chamberleyn, Radulphus, 303, 304. *See also* Chamberleyn
 Chapel Close, Saxthorpe, 323
 Chapman, Hugo le, 26
 — Henry le, 48
 — Martha, 255
 — Mary, 255
 — Thomas, 26, 308
 Charm, new version of old, 131, 132
 Chattelon, Mary de, 323
 Chamberleyn, Walter, 26
 Chaundeler, Laurentius, 309
 — Willelmus, 306
 Chelyng, Ricardus, 299
 Chenesford (Chelmesford), 93
 Chequer Close, 146
 Cherche. *See* atte Cherche

Chestre, Walterus, 299
 Chevage (capitagium) defined, 81, 84
 Cheyne, Brass to Isabella, wife of William (1485), 249
 Chichestre, Galfridus de, 299
 — Nicholas de, 299
 Child, Mr. Henry, 341
 — John, 26
 Church Building, Increase in, after A.D. 1000, the reason for this, 58
 Cinque Ports, Edward the Confessor's Charter to, 71; of doubtful authority, 71
 — — and Great Yarmouth, their early and long connection, 71, 72
 — — Bailiffs and Yarmouth Bailiffs hold the Assize of Bread, 89
 — — — their banner, preserved at Romney, 85
 — — — their demands as to sitting under the Queen's arms and within the bar, 79, 81
 — — — Yarmouth Bailiffs' answer to the same, 80
 — — — further disputes about similar questions, 81, 84
 — — — last visit to Yarmouth in 1662, 70
 — — — See also under Yarmouth
 Clackclose Hundred and the Civil War, by L. G. Bolingbroke, Hon. Sec., 329-340
 — — Tables of Parochial Assessments for the Civil War (1645-1649), 337-340
 Clark, Adam, 308
 Clarke, W. G., 139
 Clederow, Brass to Johanna, wife of Henry (1509), 251
 Clemens (serviens), 308
 Clere, Brass of Elizabeth, wife of Edmund (1488), 250
 Clerk, Henry le, 48
 — Johannes, 308
 — Walter, 25
 — Willelmus, 298
 Cley-next-the-Sea, Brass at (1512), 261, 262
 "Cleyes wiscatæ" explained, 56
 Clippeby, Brass at (1594), 255
 — Brass to Julian, wife of John (1594), 255
 Cloth of Estate in Yarmouth Tolhouse, presented to Sir S. Meyrick, 79
 Cob, Rogerus, 296
 Cobbe, Reginaldus, 311
 — — jun., 305
 — Willelmus, 308
 Cobeler, Willelmus, 297
 Cobelere, Willelmus, 298
 Cockley Cley, 137
 Cock, Thomas, 98. See also Cok
 Coggeshale, John de, 6, 23
 Cogswell, Rev. T. S., reads Paper on Stone Fragments in Cringleford Church (1899 Report, i.)
 — — on Ancient Stone Fragments in Cringleford Church, 99

Cok, John, 38
 — Rogerus, 300
 Coke, Robertus, 304
 Cokerel, Thomas, 48
 Cokeye, Willelmus Corryour de, 308
 Colby, Simon de, 307
 Colchester, 98
 Cole, Thomas, 271, 273, 296, 298, 303, 318
 Collewenny, John, 191
 Colman, Mr. J. J., death of (1898 Report, v.)
 Colney, John de, 290
 — Johannes de, 307
 Colton, Gilbertus de, 306
 Cone (I Cove), Mag^r Johannes de, 311
 Conesford Leet, Norwich, Militia in 14th century, 271, 295
 Coningsby, Brass to Jane, wife of Humphrey (1608), 256
 Cook, Bartholomeus, 307
 Copenote, Galfridus, 316
 Coppele, Henry, 44
 Corbet, Miles, 335
 Cordewaner, Adam, 309
 — Petrus, 309
 Cornwallis, Sir Charles, 128, 130
 — Sir William, 128
 Corporation Insignia (Jewitt and Hope) quoted, 85
 Corpusty, 328
 Corrayour, Walterus, 308
 Coson, John, 212
 Cossey, Bartholomeus de, 304
 Cosseye, Rogerus, 310
 Costums in England (Fairholt) quoted, 291
 Costums in France (Quicheret) quoted, 242
 Coxy, Johannes, 300
 Cosyn, John, 229, 231, 240
 — — his chantry, 156, 178, 192, 234, 239
 — Philippus, 305
 Cotelar, Hugo, 38
 — John, junr., 43
 — — senr., 43
 — Robertus, 308
 Coters de fer (elbow armour), 292, 293
 Cotesley, Hugo, 38
 Cotman, Roger (baker), 89
 Cotman's Sepulchral Brasses quoted, 65, 66
 Couper, Andreas, 304
 — Johannes, 304
 Coupere, Johannes, 307, 309
 Craddok, Galfridus, 297
 Crakesheld, Henricus, 300
 Crampe, Willelmus, 308
 Crayne, George (baker), 89
 Cremer (Cremerus), Brass to Anne, wife of John (1610), 256
 Crespine head-dress described, 244
 Creyk, Willelmus de, 230
 Crimplasham, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Cringleford, stone fragments in Church, Rev. T. S. Cogswell (1899 Report, i.)
 — at time of Domesday Survey, 102

- Cringleford Church, alterations in 15th century, 100
 — — — Ancient stone fragments found at, 99
 — — — Ancient carved stones placed in west wall, 101
 — — — its original plan, 99
 — — — Saxon window at, 99
 — — — Cross, referred to, 102
 Cristmesse, Frescoenia, 18, 36
 Cromer Church visited (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 — — — District, Excursion in (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 Crowe, Johannes, 299
 — — — William, Bailiff of Yarmouth, 75, 77, 80, 81, 86, 87, 90, 94, 97
 Crysepe, Mr. Thomas, 129
 Cubitt, Hannah Sparkhall, 343
 Currayour, Ricardus, 308
 — — — Robertus, 308
 Curasoun, Hugo, 296, 301
 Curtes, William, 209, 211
 Curtis, William, 165
 Curzon, Lady, Brass formerly at Belaugh (1471), 249
 Custance, Thomas, 300
 Cuteler, Galfridus, 313
 Cutellus (dagger, knife), 293
 Cutler, John, 218
 — — — Margaret, wife of John, 218
 — — — Sir Robert (priest), 212
 — — — (*alias* Sexton) Sir Robert (priest), 187
 †
 Dade, Robertus, 300
 Damaak, figured silk stuff, 196
 Damett, Mr., 83, 91, 92, 97
 Dauber, Ricardus, 297
 Daubere, Bartholomeus, 309
 — — — Rogerus, 310
 Dauntre, Thomas de, 318
 Davy, Mary, 323
 Dawes' Close, 145
 De Bacon, Adam, Brass (1810), 66
 De Becham. *See* Becham
 De Berningham Family (of Barningham Parva), their house at Mannington, 327
 — — — (of Northwood Barningham), remains of their house there, 327
 De Bradok. *See* Bradok
 De Braklond. *See* Braklond
 De Breclis. *See* Breclis (Brakles)
 De Breccles. *See* Breccles
 De Brekles. *See* Brekles
 De Brook. *See* Brook
 De Buckenham. *See* Buckenham
 De Burny. *See* Burny
 De Buxhale. *See* Buxhale
 De Calkhill. *See* Calkhill
 De Chattelon, Mary, wife of Aymer De Valence, 323
 De Coggeshale. *See* Coggeshale
 De Depmer. *See* Depmer
 De Ely. *See* Ely
 De Fornocete. *See* Fornocete
 De Gardino. *See* Gardino
 De Gerun. *See* Gerun
 De Grymeston. *See* Grymeston
 De Grymsted. *See* Grymsted
 De Harpley. *See* Harpley
 De Hewell. *See* Hewell
 De Hiakey. *See* Hiakey
 De Hookham. *See* Hookham
 De Houton, Geoffrey, 48
 De Illyngton. *See* Illyngton
 De Ingham. *See* Ingham
 De la Dale, Richard, 51
 De la Forthe, John, 48
 Del Hel (ate Hyl), Robert, 48
 De Lirling. *See* Lirling
 de Littlemore. *See* Littlemore
 De Methelond, Adam, 24
 De Modyngwelle. *See* Modyngwelle
 Dennington visited (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 Denver, 332, 333, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Denys, Robert, 26
 De Pakenham. *See* Pakenham
 Depham, Ricardus de, 308
 Depmer, Adam de, 90, 53, 54
 — — — (de Walsham), 49
 — — — Hugo de, 20, 49
 — — — Ricardus de, 306
 — — — Stephen de, 18, 49
 — — — William de, 49
 Depmere (tenement), 44
 De Prato. *See* Prato
 Der, Johannes, 309
 Dereham, East, 339
 — — — visited (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 — — — West, 330, 331, 334, 337, 338, 339, 340
 — — — Robertus de, 236
 Derehant, Sir John (priest), 213
 Derham, Sir Nicholas (priest), 211
 — — — Robert de, 206
 — — — (le Cook), 236
 Derling, Reginald, 44
 Dersingham, Effigies of John Pell and wife (1607), 256
 De Shropham. *See* Shropham
 De Snytterton. *See* Snytterton
 De Stanton. *See* Stanton
 De Tasburgh. *See* Tasburgh
 De Tateshale. *See* Tateshale
 De Tymworth. *See* Tymworth.
 Deux, Johannes, 320
 De Valence, Aymer, 323
 — — — his arms, 328
 — — — his munificence in Church building, 328
 — — — his tragic end, 328
 De Valle Badonia, Alan, 24
 Devenport, Magister Adam, 236
 Devenshire, Richardus, 303
 De Walesham, Nicholas, 69
 Dewes, Johannes, 302
 De Wykes. *See* Wykes
 Deye, Ricardus, 306

Dilham, Johannes de, 818
 — Ricardus de, 811
 Dillon, Lord (President Soc. Antiq.), 291
 Discoveries, Recent, in Norwich Cathedral, 105
 Distances, Table of, between Gravesend and
 Yarmouth, 98
 Distel, Geoffrey, 18, 86
 Ditchingham, Brass at (1490), 249
 — Hall, 149
 Do, John le, 50, 54
 — Robert le, 50, 51, 54
 Dodge Arms, at Mannington Hall, 326
 — Anne, 323
 — Frances, 323
 — John (lord of Mannington), 323
 — Mary, 323
 — Ralph (Rector of Mannington), 324
 Donston, Willelmus de, 816. *See also* Dunston
 Doraunt, Sir John (priest), 218
 Dory, Nicholas, 307
 Doose, William, 87
 Doublet described, 292
 Doughty, Matilda, wife of Robert, Brass
 (1498), 247
 Dounham, Galfridus de, 306
 — Ricardus de, 309
 — Thomas de, 811. *See also* Downham
 Downham, 334, 335
 Doyly, Sir Wm., 146
 Drayl (tenement), 50
 Drayton, Galfridus Websters de, 309
 — Willelmus de, 313
 Drury, Mr., former bailiff of Yarmouth, 78,
 80, 81, 83
 Dughty, Walterus, 308
 Duk (tenement), 44
 Duke, Brass to Ann, wife of George (1561),
 252, 253
 — Brass to Ann (1577), 258
 Dull, Petrus, 296
 Dumbhowe, Pagan, 52
 — Robert, 52
 — William, 52
 Dun, Johannes, 810
 Dunham, Galfridus de, 314
 — Johannes, 304
 — Great, Church, Pre-Norman work at, 58
 Dunstable, 186
 Dunston, 140, 143
 — Common, 143
 — Willelmus de, 302
 Du Port, Rev. Canon, Death of (1896
Report, v.)
Durham Rites (Surtees Society) quoted, 185-6
 Durrant, John, 87
 — William (baker), 89
 Dynock, Thomas, 307

East Anglia and the Civil War (Kingston),
 referred to, 336
 East Dereham. *See* Dereham East
 Easterforde, 98
Eastern Valleys of Norfolk (Robberds) quoted,
 148
 Eaton, Mr. G. C., Death of (1900 *Report*, iv.)
 Edgar, Stephen, 332
 Ede, Alicia, 88
 Edward (King), son of Henry, 23, 32
 Eger, Mr., 97
 Eggefeld, Johannes de, 811
 Eggefeld, Thomas de, 311
 Egges, John, 91
 Elfeld, Robert, 24
 Elfed, Hugo, 82
 Elingham, Willelmus de, 306, 314. *See also*
 Elyingham
 Ellis, Margaret, 213
 — Thomas, 213
 Ellys, Mr. William, 218
 Elmered, William, son of, 25
 Elmham, Johannes de, 297
 — North, visited (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 Elsing Church and Hall visited (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 Elvedon, 140
 — (old), gap, 139
 Ely, Adam de, 301
 — Catherina de, 316
 — Johannes de, 301
 — Magister Johannes de, 811
 — Ricardus de, 304
 — Willelmus, 308
 Elyingham, Johannes de, 303, 319
 — Willelmus, 314
 Emelot, Johannes, 316
 Erl, Ralph le, 13, 36
 — Richard le, 32, 37
 Erham, Anote de, 316
 — Johannes de, 306
 — Willelmus de, 309
 Ermine Street, 138
 Erpingham, Sir Robert, 302
 — Sir Thomas, 302
 Erpyngham, Johannes de, 302, 303, 316
 — Willelmus, 297
 Essex, Johannes de, 300
 Estelyn, John, 44
 "Estrete" (Bardwell-Wykes Manor), 20, 52
 Estoft, Alice, wife of Robert, 231
 — Robert, 231
 Eton, Willelmus de, 307
 Everard, John, 110
Evolution of the English House (Addy) quoted,
 56
 Extents, Three 13th Century Manorial, 1-56
 Eye, 151
 — Robertus de, 309

Faber, William, 28
 Faden (Map of Norfolk), 144
 Fairchild, Johannes, 305, 312, 315, 320

Eade, Sir Peter, presents his *History of the
 Norfolk and Norwich Hospital*, 345

East, John, 87
 Eastbridge, 96

- Fairchild, Petrus, 305, 312, 315
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 331, 337
 Fakenham, Mantelpiece at, 341-343
 Falgate, Thomas atte, 24, 30
 Farrer, Rev. E., on Carved Poppyhead in South Lopham Church, 62
 Farwell, Ricardus, 298
 Fastolf Arms, 67, 68, 69
 — Arms of, on ancient brick at Mannington Hall, 325
 — Sir John, Rugge's Brass at St. John's Maddermarket, possibly was Fastolf's, 68
 Faukener, William, 326
 Felbrigg, Brass (c. 1480) at, 260
 — Brass at (1608), 256
 — Alice de, Brass (c. 1380), 243
 — Elizabeth de, Brass (c. 1380), 243
 — Margaret, wife of Simon de, Brass (1416), 244, 245
 — Roger de, Brass (c. 1380), 243
 — Brass of Symond de Felbrigg's wives at (c. 1380), 243
 — Hall, The Society visited (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 Felbrigge, Dame Katherine, 190
 — Sir Simon, K.G., 190
 Felix, Willelmus, 316
 Feltwell, Brass at (1520), 252
 Fen Road (The Great), 137, 138
 Fer', Johannes, 315
 Ferror, Richard (alderman), 222
Feudal England (Round) quoted, 71
 — Manor described, 1-5
 Fincham (Norfolk), 336
 — Shroud Brass (c. 1520) at, 262
 Finnok (tenement), 45
 Fire, Disastrous, Norw. and Norw. Library (1896 *Report*, ii.)
 Fish, Ricardus, 305
 Fishere, Roger le, 26, 28
 Fishere, Alured le, 53
 Fishman, Clemens, 314
 Fissy, Richard, 13, 35, 40
 Fitz Nichole, Richard, 43
 Flecher, Ricardus, 306
 Flemyng, Henricus, 316
 Fleury, Cardinal, portrait at Mannington Hall, 326
 Flye, Katherine, 300
 Flynt, Johannes, 304
 Fodding, Walterus, 306
Fodera (Rymer) quoted, 312
 Foldage defined, 34
 Folsam, Stephanus de, 301
 Fordham, 332, 333, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Fornecete, Roger de, 43
 Fornsete, S. . . . de, 303
 Fourbour, Ricardus, 308
 — Thomas, 313
 Fox, Mr. G. E., supplies design for ancient carved stones at Cringleford, 101
 Frame, William, 37, 39
 Framingham Earl, 148
 Framingham Earl Church, Early circular chancel windows at, 58
 Framlingham visited (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 Francesham, William de, 45
 Frankys, Willelmus, 302, 304. *See also* Frenkys
 French hood (Paris head, &c.), 254
 Frenkys, Willelmus, 304
 Frenze, Brass (1519) to Joan Braham (vowes), 268
 — Brass at (1521), 252
 — (1551) at, 252
 Frere, Willelmus, 304
 Frescoint, Hugo, 11, 35
 Fressingfield, Johannes de, 308
 Fressingfield Church visited (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 Freton, Walterus de, 300
 Fretun, Willelmus de, 296
 Frettenham, Brasses at (c. 1440), 246
 Friston, Ricardus de, 309
 Frost, Miles, 33
 Frostell, Henricus, 303
 Fukeys, Nicholas, son of Peter, 26
 Fullere, Rob : teler (!), 309
 — Simon, 308
 Fundenhale, Robertus de, 302
 Fynch, William, 36
 Fynck, William, 32
 Fyscher, John, 37
 — Thomas, 37
 Galfridus, clerk, SS. Simon and Jude, 307
 — (serviens), 297, 313, 315
 Galion (tenement), 49
 Gelon, Johannes, 302
 Gamage, Johannes, 308
 Gambun, John, 38
 Gardiner, Nicholaus, 299
 — Mr. William, 130
 Gardino, Bartholomew de, 24
 — John de, 7
 Gauntlets, 293
 Gawsell, G., 335, 336
 Gaylour, Thomas, 65
 Geoffrey le Reve, 54, 55
 George II. (King), Portrait of, at Mannington Hall, 326
 Gerald (tenement), 44, 52
 — Willelmus, 306, 313
 Gerbald, Thomas, 302
 Gernoun, John, 292
 — Johannes, 305, 313
 Gerneys, Willelmus, 297
 Gertmaker, Johannes, 301
 Gerun, William de, 23
 Geyrt, Reginaldus, 309
 Gilbert, Alice, widow of William, 191
 — William, 191
 Gilbert of Clare (Earl of Gloucester), 32
 — William, 13, 36
 Gildecros, Hundred of, 17
 Gillingwater's *History of Lowestoft*, 73

Giselham, Rogerus de, 308
 Gissing Church, Possible pre-Norman work at, 56
 Glaswrighte, Adam, 297
 Gloucester, Abbot of, 229, 234
 — Earl of, 10
 Glover, Reginaldus, 304
 Gnateshale, Johannes de, 303, 318, 319
 — Willelmus, 318, 319
 Goche, William, 13, 32, 36
 Gocher, William, 43
 Godefrey, Henry, 51
 Godwyne, Edmund, 49
 Goldeamyth, Robertus, 303
 Goodfar, John, 36
 Gooe, Robert, 43
 Gore, le (place name), 27
 Gorham, John, 87
 Gott, Matilda, 21
 Gotte, Thomas, 306, 313
 Goudhurst (Kent), 253
 Gouil (govil) explained, 19
 Goulburn, late Dean, of Norwich, 105, 127
 Gouthorp († Gonthorpe), Adam de, 311
 Gowel, Henry, 45
 Grace (tenement), 50
 Grace, Sir John (priest), 205
 Grantham, 332
 Gravesend, 98
 Gray, Adam, 298
 — Johannes, 309. *See also* Grey
 Graye, Mr. (Town Clerk, Yarmouth), 94, 97
 Great Yarmouth. *See* Yarmouth, Great
 Green, Mrs. J. R., 101
 Greig, Edith, 343
 Gren, Johannes atte, 311
 Grene, Agnes atte, 28
 — Brass to Agnes, wife of Edmund (c. 1490), 250
 Grene. *See also* Attē Grene
 Gressenhall Church visited (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 Grey, Brass to Jone, wife of Sir Henry (1492), 250
 Greynes, Johannes, 231
 Grom, Henry, 24, 30
 Gronger, Thomas, 302, 304, 320
 Gros, Lady Petronella le, 327
 Grote, Radulfus, 306
 Grout, Ricardus, 297
Growth of English Industry and Commerce (Cunningham) quoted, 5
 Grym, John, 36
 Grymsted, Bartholomew de, 24
 Grymeston, Peter de, 26
 Grypps = Griffins, 202
 Guest, Dr., his interpretation of Ickneild Way, 136
 "Gunarius cum pulvere," 294
 Gundreda, daughter of John Prepositus, 21
 Gurdon, Johannes, 303
 Gurmuncastre, Reginaldus de, 305
 Gurnay, Rogerus, 308

Gurney, Andreas, 309
 Gurny, 129
 Gwyn, Arms of, 342
 — Family, Pedigree of, 342, 343
 — Alice, 343
 — Anthony, 343
 — — (d. 1784), 343
 — Anthony (d. 1861), 342, 343
 — Anthony Joseph Jermy, 343
 — Basil, 343
 — Cecil, 343
 — Cyril, 343
 — Edith, 343
 — Elizabeth, 343
 — — (d. 1654), 342
 — Etheldreda, 343
 — Frances (d. 1822), 343
 — Georgina C., 343
 — Gerald, 343
 — Hamond (d. 1769), 343
 — — (d. 1805), 343
 — — Weston (d. 1886), 343
 — Hannah Sparkhall, 343
 — Henrietta Sophia, 343
 — Howard Weston, 343
 — Hwleyn of Pressaddred, 342
 — Isabel M. G. Nicholson, 343
 — John, 342
 — Laurence, 343
 — Lionel Tatham, 343
 — Llewelyn, 342
 — Margaret, 342
 — Maroli, 342
 — Mary, 343
 — — (Thorsby), 342
 — — (d. 1721), 343
 — — (d. 1747), 343
 — — (d. 1796), 343
 — Nicholas (d. 1796), 343
 — Rebecca, 343
 — Reginald Preston Jermy, Captain, 343
 — Reginald Thorsby, Colonel, 343
 — Rhys, 342
 — Rice (1800), his portrait described, 341-342
 — — Serjeant-at-law (d. 1629), 341, 342
 — — (d. 1649-1650), 342
 — — (d. 1668-1669), 343
 — — (d. 1689), 343
 — — (d. 1720), 343
 — Richard, 343
 — — (d. 1851), 343
 — Rev. Richard Hamond, 343
 — Sarah, 343
 — Tatham, 343
 — William (d. 1880), 343
 Gykel, Vincentius, 300
 Gyles, Thomas, 87
 Gyngei (tenement), 45
 Gysarm (weapon), 294
 Gysyngg, Johannes de, 311
 Gyze, Rogerus, 297

- Hachia (hatchet), 294
 Hackneyman, Meaning of, 307
 Haddiscoe, 143, 149
 — Church, Pre-Norman work at, 58
 Hakeneyman, Willelmus, 307
 Haldaby, Rogerus de, 304
 Hale, Johannes, 303
 Halescye, Petrus de, 309
 Halesworth, Rogerus, 311
 — Rogerus de, 313
 — Roger de, 320
 Halsted Grove, 145
 Hamo Garlicman, 301
 Hamond, Anthony, 343
 — Mary, 343
 Hampyng, Willelmus, 296, 300
 Handhowe, 26
 Hanele, Johannes de, 305
 Hansell, E. M., reads paper on the Beeston
 Priory Sheepwalk (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 Hapton, Geoffrey de, 290
 — Galfridus de, 305, 315
 — Stephen de, 290
 — Stephanus de, 305
 Hardegrey, Rogerus, 305, 313, 315, 320
 Hardelee, Willelmus de, 301
 Hardeved (tenement), 45, 48, 49, 50, 54
 Hardyngham, Willelmus de, 316
 Hare, Alice, second wife of Robert Rugge, 65
 — Sir R., 335, 336
 Harleston, Elena, 231
 — Johannes, 231
 Harling, East and West, 140
 Harmer, F. W., Letter on Excavations in
 Norwich Castle Keep, 151
 Harris, Georgina C., 343
 Harrod, The late Mr. Henry, 228
 Harpley, Richard de, 27
 Harpele, Ricardus de, 306
 Harsick, Katherine, Brass (1384), 244
 Hart, "My brother," 129
 Harte, Thomas, 87
 Haager, Willelmus, 303, 304
 Haslack, Hugo, 302
 Hauberk (coat of mail), 292
 Hauel, Johannes, 313, 315
 Hawys, William, 43
 Hayl, Margaret, 43
 Hayroun, Ricardus, 301
 Head-dresses, Female, as shown on Norfolk
 brasses, 241-262
 Head-dress, The butterfly, 243
 — horned or mitred, 247
 Heatheld (Hethel), 133. *See also* Hethel
 Heckingham, 149
 Hedenham, Johannes de, 310
 — Johannes, 314
 Hedge, Richard, 119
 Hedyngham, Thomas, 314
 Hegham, Willelmus de, 304
 Heigh', Robertus, 319
 Hekeling, Jacobus de, 307
 Helgay, 332, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Helgeye, Ricardus de, 314
 Helewys, Geoffrey, 25
 Hemenhale, 149
 Hemly (Suffolk), 129
 Hendon, Johannes de, 303
 Henney, Johannes de, 230
 Henricus le Hirdeler, 304
 — (serviens), 296, 301, 307, 308, 309, 310
 — (tailleur), 296
 Herberd, Richard, 38
 — William, 25
 Herd, Robert, 29
 Hereward (tenement), 51
 Herle, Reginaldus, 313
 Hermanus (serviens), 307
 Herte, John, 212
 Hert', Johannes, 230, 316
 — Rogerus, 303
 — William, 11, 35
 Herward, Brass to Ann, wife of Robert (1435),
 249
 Hethel, Thomas de, 290, 306
 Hethirsete, Galfridus de, 303
 Heveningham, Sir Arthur, 130
 — Susan, 323
 Hevenyngham, Lady Maria, 129
 Heverynglond, Robertus de, 316
 Hevyngham, Johannes de, 231, 305, 307, 312,
 314, 315
 Hewell, William de, 322
 Heydon, Anne, 323
 — Sir Christopher, 323, 324
 — Johannes de, 302
 — Brass to Anne, wife of Sir Christopher
 (1561), 254-255
 — Church visited (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 — Hall visited (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 Heye, Robertus, 311
 Heyham, Roger Barkere de, 309
 Heygham, Henricus de, 316
 Heylesdon, Bartholomew de, 316
 Hickling Lane = Icklinge Way, 140, 141, 142
 Hikely, Richard, 38
 Hildebrand, Hans, 101
 Hill, Geoffrey atte, 24
 Hindolveston, Brass at, 250
 — (1563), 255, 261
 Hirde Willelmus, 298
 Hirdelilver explained, 30
 Hirich, Walter, 27
 Hisey, Geoffrey de, 322
 Historical MSS. Commission Reports quoted, 265
 History, *The, of Causton*, presented to this
 Society, 345
 — of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital,
 presented to this Society, 345
 — of English Constitution (Gneist) quoted,
 264, 296
 — of English Law (Pollock and Maitland), 22
 — of the English People (Green) quoted, 56,
 101

- Hoare, Rev. Canon J. G., reads paper on Aylham Church (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 — Sir Samuel and Lady, Cathedral Nave unflaked at their cost (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 Hobart, Sir John, Kt. and Bt., 332
 — (builder of Blickling Hall), 325
 — Sir James, 125
 — Roger, 129
 Hockham Magna, 7, 24, 25
 — Parva, 7, 24
 — William de, 23
 Hoddes, Johannes, 309
 Hodgkin, Thomas, 88
 Hog, Ralph, 50
 — Richard, 48, 52
 — (tenement), 52
 Hoker, Johannes, 311
 Holand, Hugo de, 302, 306, 313, 315
 Holdy, Christian, 206
 — Robert, 206
 Holm, Robertus de, 310
 Holmere (place name), 27
 Holond, Willelmus de, 304
 Holtor (Norwich), 309
 Holy Wax (Agnus Dei), 167
 Home Close, 144
 Honyngham, Johannes de, 297
 Hood (French, Marie Stuart, &c.), 254
 — Thomas, 7, 25
 Hook, Brass to Magdalen, wife of John (1513), 253
 Hope, W. H. St. John, and W. T. Bensly. Recent discoveries in Norwich Cathedral, 105-127
 — — Inventories of the parish Church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, 153-240
 Hore. *See* le Hore.
 Horn, Henricus, 316
 Hornere, Robertus, 308
 Horneaton on the Hill, 98
 Hornynge, Thomas de, 272, 296, 297
 — Willelmus de, 306, 314
 Horsford, Adam de, 316
 Horstede, Adam de, 306
 Horton, Nicholas de, Rector of S. Lopham, built chancel, 61
 Hosmund, Thomas, 304
 Hoste, Rev. J. W., reads paper on St. Gregory's Church, Norwich (1900 *Report*, ii.)
 Houghton, Peter, 323
 "Houlte Way" (Mannington Hall Map, 1565), 324
 Houton, Geoffrey de, 44
 Housbonde, John, 43
 Howard, Agnes, Duchess of Norfolk, Brass (1545), 252
 Howell, Rev. Canon Hinds, Death of (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 Howes, Sir John, Rector of Pulham, 68
 Hubbarde, Mr. (Steward of Yarmouth), 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86
 Hudson, Rev. Wm., Hon. Editorial Sec., Three 14th Century Manorial Extents, 1-56
 — — Norwich Militia in the 14th century, 283-320
 Hudson, Rev. Wm. and J. C. Tingey complete their catalogue of Norwich City Muniments (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 Hugo, "Bercarius," 36
 — (serviens), 306
 — son of Peter, 13, 32, 36
 Humberlond, Johannes, 299
 Hundred of Clackclose. *See* Clackclose
 Hunstanton, 137, 138
 — Brass at (c. 1490), 250
 — its ancient importance, 138
 Hunt, Brass to Margaret, wife of Edmund (1568), 255, 259
 — Edmund, Brass to (1568), 261
 — Frances, 323
 — George, 323
 — John, 85
 — Peter le, 44, 52
 Hunte, Margaret, 51
 — Thomas le, 48
 — William le, 48, 51, 52
 Huntingdon, 338
 Huntynghdon, Reginaldus Herle de, 313
 — Reginaldus de, 315
 Hurlbane, Edmunda, 304
 Hutchinson, John, 93, 96
 Hutahote (? Outshut) explained, 26, 56
 Huwet, John, 16, 37
 Ickburgh, 137
 Icklingham, 136, 139, 149
 Ickneild Way, its course through Norfolk, 135-152
 — — its meaning, 136
 — — its course follows the chalk formation, 135, 136
 Icklinge Way (Hickling Lane), 140-146
 Ide (tenement), 27
 Ikenworth (Kensworth), Herts, 149, 150
 Illyngton, William de, 25, 28
 Infangthief, 83
 Ingham, Brass to Lady Ela Stapleton, formerly at (c. 1425), 243, 259
 — Brass to Joan Stapleton at, 243
 — Effigy of Margaret de Bois at, 244
 — William de, 44
 Ingold, Adam, 18, 49
 Inlayr, custom so called, 29
 Interford, Thomas, 311
 Inte Close, 144
 Inventories of the parish Church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich (W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.), 153-240
 Ipswich, 98
 Irmingland, 328
 — Hall, Oak panels from, now at Mannington, 323

Italian (The) Ancestors of the Legges, presented to this Society, 345
 Itteringham, 328
 Ive, Jacobus, 306, 313
 Ixworth, Suffolk, 22, 130
 Jacobus (serviens), 304, 308, 310
 Jelion, Peter, 28
 Jermy, Henrietta Sophia (d. 1870), 343
 — Isaac, 343
 Jessopp, Dr. A., describes Gressenhall and Scarning (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 — describes Castle Acre (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 — his analysis of Banham Manorial extent, 10
 Jewrye, Thomas del, 230
 Johannes 229, 314
 — (capellanus), 45
 — de easton, 298
 — prepositus (Bardwell Manor), 21
 — pottour, 301
 — (serviens), 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 313, 315
 John the Carpenter, Avelina, widow of, 35
 — "Molendinarius," 37
 — son of Stephen, "ad crucem," 52
 — son of William, 51, 52
 Johnson, Thomas, 87
 Jon, Longe, 298
 Jolyf, Johannes, 304
 Jones, Mr. W. H., appointed on Committee, (1898 *Report*, v.)
 — describes St. Michael Coalany Church (1898 *Report*, i.)
 — reads paper on Weyborne Priory (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 — remarks on Arms, &c., found in Churches (1898 *Report*, i.)
 Jorn, Petrus de, 308
 Jowel, Johannes, 310
 Judas, The, a candlestick, 174, 175
 Julian, Peter, 25, 48
 Jury, Thomas, 192, 237
 Keep, Ricardus, 299
 Kempe, Johannes, 304
 Ken, the prefix, in place-names near the Ickneild Way, 149, 150
 Kene, Johanna, 29
 — William, 24, 29
 Kensingham (Hamlet of Mulbarton), 149
 Kenn, 149
 — Ford, 149
 Kennet (Cambridge), 149
 — Hundred (Berks), 149
 Kenninghall, 140, 141, 149
 — suggested etymology, 150
 Kensworth (Ikensworth, Herts), 149, 150
 Kentbarrow (tumulus), 149
 Kentfield (Icklingham), 149
 Kentford (Cambridge), 149
 — 189
 Kentlow in Old Buckenham, 149

Kerbrok, Alanus de, 310
 Kerdeston, Cecilia de, Brass (1391), 244
 Kesewyk, Radulfus de, 296
 — Walterus de, 301
 Ketil, Roger, 13, 36
 Ketteringham, Brasses at (1492), 250
 Ketton, Mr. R. W., receives the Society at Felbrigg (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 King, Captain, reads paper on "Arms, &c., found in Churches" (1898 *Report*, i.)
 — G. A., exhibits drawings of baudkein patterns from Ranworth Screen (1898 *Report*, i.)
 — T. W. (Rouge Dragon), his paper on Arms in Yarmouth Church quoted, 69
 King. See also Kyng
 Kintbury Hundred (Berks), 149
 Kirby Bedon, Shroud brass at (1499), 262
 Kirkley Road, Disputes between Yarmouth and Lowestoft as to, 73, 74
 Kirkpatrick, John, his analysis of militia returns, 265, 266
 Knappe, Willelmus, 301
 Knights' Fees, Roll of (Norfolk), 23
 Knoll, Robert, 284
 Knowledge quoted, 139
 Knyght, John, of Hokham, 25
 — William le, 50
 Knyvett, Sir Thomas, 129
 Kyng, Isabella, 29
 — Letit', 300
 Lachelowes (tenement), 144
 Lachford Hundred, 139
 Lacy, Mr. William, 143
 Ladd, Mr. John, 77, 97
 — Mrs., widow, 77
 Ladde, Thomas, 301
 Lakenham, Rogerus de, 309
 Lakinghye, Walter Tailiour de, 308
 Lakyngtheth, Willelmus, 298
 Lambard, Johannes, 309, 314
 Lambeth (Surrey) St. Mary, Brass formerly at (1545), 252
 Lambrych, John, 32
 Lambryth, John, 37
 Lane, Thomas atte, 306
 Langham, 44
 — Robert Aubrey de, 49
 Lantorn, Edmundus, 305
 Larke, John, 19, 49, 53, 55
 Larlingford, 139
 Latimer, John, 190, 273
 — Johannes, 296, 298
 Latymer, Johannes, 237, 238, 296, 298, 302, 320
 — Margaret, wife of John, 237
 Laurentius (serviens), 304
 Lawnde = lawn, or fine linen, 218
 Lawse, Thomas, 146
 Layt, Henry, 27
 — John, 28

Layt, Reginald, 26
 Laystoffe (Lowestoft), 98
 Le Bee. *See* Bee
 Le Bercher. *See* Bercher
 Le Blekestere. *See* Blakestere
 Le Blo. *See* Blo
 Le Breton. *See* Breton
 Le Caus (caus, caux). *See* Caus
 Le Chapman. *See* Chapman
 Le Clerk. *See* Clerk
 Le Do. *See* Do
 Le Erl. *See* Erl
 Le Fishere. *See* Fishere
 Le Fishere. *See* Fishere
 Le Gros. *See* Gros
 "Le gore" (place name), 27
 Le Hore (tenement), 17, 45, 48, 49, 50, 54, 55
 Le Hunte. *See* Hunte
 Le Knyght. *See* Knyght
 Le Marchaunt. *See* Marchaunt
 Le Mareschall. *See* Mareschall
 Le Mey. *See* Mey
 Le Milner. *See* Milner
 Le Palmere. *See* Palmere
 Le Reve. *See* Reve
 Le Ropere. *See* Ropere
 Le Saltare. *See* Saltare
 "Le Scoletuff," 45
 Le Skinnere. *See* Skinnere
 Le Smale. *See* Smale
 Le Spicer. *See* Spicer
 le Strange, Hamon, Esq., appointed Vice-President (1898 *Report*, v.)
 Le Thachere. *See* Thachere
 Le Talliur, Tailleour, &c. *See* Talliur, Tailleour
 Le Veer. *See* Veer
 Le Wower. *See* Wower
 Leche, Adam, 304
 — Walter, 15, 26, 38, 41, 42
 Leeman, Stephanus, 301
 Leef, Walterus, 239
 Leek, Johannes de, 300
 — Willelmus de, 303
 "Leet," its meaning in Norwich and Norfolk, 267, 268
 Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich (Hudson) quoted, 270, 291
 Lefroy, Dean, of Norwich, 105
 Legge, Rev. A. G., reads paper at North Elmham (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 — presents copy of *The Italian Ancestors of the Legges*, 345
 Leighe, Sir William, 129
 Lemner, Anne, 251
 Lent, Edmundus, 318, 315, 319
 Lesey, Isolda, 37
 Leterman, Radulfus, 300
 Leuk (leuga), settled in 1597 as equal to one mile, 74
 Leveday, Ralph, 38
 — Richard, 38

Leveday, Stephen, 13, 32, 36
 Leverich, Alicia, 26
 — Margaret, 26
 — Walter, 26, 27
 Lincoln Archaeological Society visit Lynn district (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 Lincolnshire, 335
 Lirling, William de, 35
 Lirlyngg, 27
 Litster, Johannes, 298
 Little, Rebecca, 343
 Littlemor, Sons of, 48
 Littlemor, Geoffrey, 51
 — son of William de, 20
 — Thomas de (chaplain), 20, 50
 — William de, 51
 — (chaplain), 45
 Lives of the Queens (Strickland) referred to, 248
 Llantwit Major (Wales), Celtic Cross at, 101
 Lloyd arms, 342
 — Jevan, 342
 — Maroli, 342
 Local Names in Norfolk (Munford) quoted, 147, 148
 Loddon, 148, 149
 — Shroud brass at (1546), 262
 Lodham, 313
 Loft, Henricus atte, 305
 Loksmyth, Petrus, 308
 Lole, Adam, 304
 Lompnour, Adam, 306
 London, Francis, 146
 — Robert, 146
 — William, 146, 304
 Long, Matthew, 323
 — Susan, 323
 Lopham, South, Rev. Canon Manning, 57
 — Church, Carved poppyhead at, 62
 — — — Chancel, 61
 — — — Nave of Church described, 59
 — — — Tower (central) described, 59, 60
 — Thomas de, 296, 300
 Lotha Wistoft = Lowestoft, 76
 Lothale, Johannes, 304, 318, 315
 Lothian, The Marchioness, receives members of this Society at Blickling (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 Loudham, Ricardus de, 310
 Lound, Galfridus de, 307
 Love, Thomas, 298
 — Sir Thomas (priest), 156, 190
 Lovelyk, Adam, 307
 Lovet, Agnes, 26
 — William, 26, 28
 Lowestoft and Yarmouth, disputes about Kirkley Road, 73, 74
 Ludham, Johannes de, 305
 Luk' golde, gold thread from Lucoa, 197
 Lumner arms at Mannington Hall, 326
 — of Mannington Pedigree, 322, 323
 — Anne, 323

- Lumner, Catherine, 323
 — Edmund, sold Mannington, 323
 — Edward, 323
 — Elizabeth, 323
 — Henry, 322, 323
 — Jane, 323
 — John, 323
 — Katherine, 323
 — Margaret, married (2) Thomas Brigge,
 (8) Edmund Paston, 323
 — Margery, 323
 — Mary, 323
 — Nicholas, 323
 — Thomas, 323
 — William, built Mannington Hall, 322, 323
 "Lunett," 293
 Lunsforde, Mr. John, of Hastings, 75, 86, 87
 Lussher, Olive, 27
 — Robert, 27, 28
 Lybert (Bishop, 1446-1472), account of opening
 his grave and contents thereof, 116-118
 Lyndewode (Bishop of St. David's), 117, 118
 Lynes, Radulfus, 311
 Lyuk, Willelmus de, 304
 Lynn, 330, 338
 — Archives, order for armed foot soldiers
 (1844-5), 264
 — District visited (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 — Johannes de, 306
 — Mayor of, entertains Lincs, Notts,
 and Norfolk Archaeological Societies (1900
 Report, iii.)
 — St. Margaret, brass at, 241, 242
 Lythfot, Henry, 36

 Macobe, Willelmus, 304
 Mafrey, Thomas, 13, 36
 Malemaker, Bartholomeus, 306
 Malemakere, Rogerus, 307
 Mallia, Richard (baker), 89
 Manchild, Walter, 24, 27, 28
 Mancroft Leet, Norwich, Militia in 14th
 Century, 275, 302
 Mandevyle, Alicia, 88
 — Petronilla, 88
 Manning, Rev. Canon C. R., on South Lopham
 Church, 57
 — his lamented death (1898 *Report*, iv.)
 Mannings (Norfolk Moneyers), 322
 Mannyng, Johannes, 306
 Mannington, brief account of parish and
 manor, 322, 323
 — Druids' stones (so called) at, 327
 — Heath, 324
 — Interesting remains at, 326-328
 — Oak trees subside at (1717), 326, 327
 — Saxon tumulus at, 327
 — Sundry antiquities in the Churchyard at,
 327, 328
 — Hall, by R. J. W. Purdy, 321-328
 — built by William Lumner, 322

 Mannington Hall, Carved overmantel at, from
 Thwaite Hall, 326
 — — Oak panels at, from Irmingland, 325
 — — old maps, showing surroundings,
 324, 326
 — — Pictures at, 326
 — — Secret recess in tower at, 325
 — — sold in 1736 to the Walpoles, 322
 — — visited (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 — — and surroundings, 324-326
 Manor, A feudal, described, 1-5
 Manors, changes in during 12th and 13th
 Centuries, 2-5
 Manorial Extents, Three 13th Century, 1-56
 Manser, Henry, 44, 51
 Mantelpiece at Fakenham (Walter Rye), 341-343
Manual of Monumental Brasses (Haines) quoted,
 244, 246
 Map (1565) of Mannington Hall and sur-
 roundings, 324
 Maraunt, Willelmus, 306
 Marchaunt, John le, 28
 — Thomas le, 28
 — Walter le, 28
 Mareschall, John le, 36
 Marechal, Johannes, 297
 Marger', Alec, 18, 49
 — Alice, 49
 — Thomas, 18, 49
 Margaret of Lancaster, 259
 (tenement), 18
 — de Walsoken, Lynn, brass, 241, 242
 Marham, The Priores of, 260
 Marie Stuart hqd, 254
 Mariot, Thomas, 301
 Markaunt, Petrus, 311
 Marlingford, David de, 309
 Martin, William, 25, 29
 Martyns (tenement), 27
 Mason, Barbara (Priors of Marham), 260
 — Dr., on the Ickneild Street, 149
 — Isabell, 260
 Massingham, Robertus de, 305
 Massoun, Nicholaus, 307
 — Willelmus, 298
 Maye, Robertus, 300
 Mayne, Thomas, 196
 Maynes, Grene, 144
 Medicines. *See* Recipes
 Medwe, William atte, 82
 Meek, Mary, 343
 — William, 343
 Melton, Alexander, 296
 — Johannes de, 306
 — Robertus de, 296, 298
 — Rogerus de, 316
 — Simon de, 270
 Mercers' Company Arms, 65
 Mercer, Mary, 343
 Mere (The), Mannington, 324
 Merton, Brass at (1520), 252
 Metton, Robertus de, 306, 313

- Metton, Brass to Matilda Doughty (1498), 247
 Mettingham, Rogerus de, 306
 Metyngham, Rogerus, 313
 Methelonde, Adam de, 24
 Mey, Robert le, 27
 Meys, Robert, 28
 Meyrick, Sir Samuel, owns the ancient Cloth of Estate, formerly in Yarmouth Tol-house, 79
 Micklethwaite, J. T., 175
 Midday, Adam, 316
 — Johannes, 295, 298
 — Rogerus, 295, 298
 — Roger, 316, 320
 Middleton, Richard (sacrist), 124
 Middleton, Roger de, 190
 Middleton, Mag^r Roger, 288
 Militia in Norwich in 14th Century. *See* Norwich
 Millard, Mr., exhibits carved figure and other antiquities, 344
 Millere, Andreas le, 309
 Millfield, 145
 Milner, Robert le, 29
 Mingaye, John, 140
 Mirfield, Johannes, 299
 Mirrigo, Willelmus, 309
 Mismay, Robertus, 299
 Modyngwelle, Henry de, 28
 Modyngwell, Henry, son of Thomas de, 25
 "Molendinarius," John, 37, 45
 — Walter, 36
 Molmen, term explained, 8
 Momes, Agnes, 27
 Mondham, Adam de, 316
 Moner, Johannes, 316
 Monk, Willelmus, 307
 Monks' Lane, Saxthorpe, 328
Monumental History of the Early British Church quoted, 101
 Monwaux, Arms at Mannington Hall, 328
 — Margaret, 323
 — Thomas, 323
 Moody, Richard, 37
 Mor, Thomas atte, 306
 Moreman, Radulphus, 314
 — Ranulphus, 309
 Morse, Johannes, 309
 Mossimer, East and West (Mannington Hall Map, 1565), 324
 Mostardman, Willelmus, 317
 Mouelberton, Henricus de, 300
 Mountford, John, 272
 Mounfort, Johannes, 296
 Mounteneye, Johannes de, 306
 Mous, Willelmus, 297
 Mouth, The, a spot near Lowestoft, 76
 Mulbarton, 141, 142
 Multon, Rogerus de, 311
 — Thomas de, 303
 — Thomas (serviens), 304
 — Walterus de, 303
 Muncy, Peter, 29
 Mundham, William de, 274, 296, 299
 Mundford, 137
 Munfort, Johannes, 295
 — Nicholas, 311
 — Willelmus, 303
 Mus, Thomas, 51, 52
 Myleham, Edward, 144
 Mynge, Mr. John, New Romney, 75, 86, 87
 Narford, 137
 Necton, Brass at (1384), 257
 — (1596), 255, 256
 — Brass of Ismayne de Wynston at, 244
 — Philippa de Beauchamp (c. 1363), 244
 Neusom, Willelmus, 308
 Neuton, Stephanus de, 317
 Neve, Johannes, 314
 — Simon, 301
 Nevill, Death of Archdeacon (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 New Buckenham, 333
 Newell, John, 226
 Newman, Elizabeth, 323
 Newmarket, 136, 137, 139
 Newport Pagnell, 338
 Newton, 140
 Nicholas . . . , 110
 Nicholas (serviens), 306, 308
 Nicholas the Reeve, Adam son of, 25, 28
 Nistard, Richard, 37
 Noble, Simon, 309
 Nodel, Henricus, 314
 Noder, Rogerus, 301
 Nogon, Henricus, 296, 297
Norfolk Brasses (Cotman) quoted, 245
 Norfolk, Duke of. *See* Howard
 — Female Head-dresses in, 241, 262
 — The Course of the Ickneild Way in, 135-152
 — Rolls of Knights' Fees, P.R.O., 23
 — Roman Roads in, 148
 Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, 1896 Balance Sheet (1896 *Report*, vi.)
 — — — 1899 Balance Sheet (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 — — — 1900 Balance Sheet (1900 *Report*, v.)
 — — — Books presented to, 345
 — — — Excursions (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 — — — Library, &c., reinstated (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 — — — Mr. Rye's intended bequest to, 345
 — — — Progress in re-binding books, &c. (1900 *Report*, iv.)
 — — — Their papers quoted and referred to, 148, 150, 228, 240, 252, 256, 288
 — — — Their publications burnt (1898 *Report*, ii.)
Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, History of, presented to this Society, 345

Norgate, Mr. Alfred, presents Norwich engravings, 345
 North Elmham. *See* Elmham, North
 Norton, Hugo de, 809
 Norwich, 136, 139, 140, 141
 — Array, Special Commissions of, 270-285
 Norwich, Bishops of :—
 Brown (1436-1445), 114, 119, 122, 124
 Eborard (1121-1146), 107
 Goldwell (1472-1493), 113
 Herbert (1091-1119), 107, 113
 Lybert (1446-1472), 110, 111
 Middleton (1278-1298), 109
 Nykke, Nikke, Nyx, (1501-1538), 113
 Wakeryng (1416-1425), 113
 William (1146-1173), 109
 Norwich Castle, excavations in basement of keep, 151
 — — — Hill. Nature of soil there, 151
 — — — the work of the Angles, 150-1
 Norwich Cathedral :—
 Account Rolls quoted, 110
 Altars at, 109
 Bishops buried in, 113
 Bishop Brown, extracts from his will, 122-3
 Bishop Eborard continues Herbert's work, 107
 Bishop Herbert completes part of, 107
 Bishop Lybert's coffin and body found, 116
 Bishop Lybert's crozier identical with Bishop Lyndewodes, 117
 Bishop Lybert's grave described, 117
 Bishop Lybert's gravestone replaced, 119
 Bishop Lybert's screen, 118
 Bishop Lybert's will, extracts from, 118, 119
 Colouring on Bishop Nyx's tomb, 113
 Crozier found on Bishop Lybert's body described, 117
 Cylindrical piers in, 107, 108
 Dr. Benaly describes discoveries made during the unflaking of (1899 *Report*, i.)
 Excavations in front of quire screen, 115
 Fall of the spire at (1362), 109
 Flint rubble bed under Bishop Herbert's work in, 126
 Fires at, in 1171, 1272, 1463; 106, 109
 Foundations of rood screen found, 123, 124
 Graves opened in, 120
 Gilt bronze ring found in grave at, 116
 Laton shields of Bishop Brown's arms to be placed on nave columns, 122
 Mr. Read, of British Museum, examines ring, 116
 Mural paintings on vault of South Aisle Chapel, 111, 112
 Nave unflaked (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 Nave unflaked at cost of Sir S. Hoare and wife, 105
 Nave Screens, original arrangement of, 125, 126
 Persons present at excavations (1899), 114
 Repaved principally in 1740, 113

Norwich Cathedral :—
 Recent discoveries in (W. H. St. John Hope and W. T. Benaly), 105-127
 Sacrista's Rolls, Extracts from, 121, 124
 Sundry carved stone fragments found at, 121
 Tablets with names of the Bishops and Deans erected, 127
 Traces of ancient screens, at 111, 113
 Traces of screen at west end of south aisle, 127
 Wooden ceiling replaced by stone vaulting, 110
 Norwich City Muniments, Catalogue of completed and published (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 — — — Records, Revised Catalogue of, presented to this Society, 345
 — — — Contemplated destruction of Earl of Surrey's Palace (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 — — — Duke's Palace, Overmantel formerly at, now at Mannington Hall, 328
 — — — Engravings of, presented by Mr. A. Norgate, 345
 — — — 14th Century Rolls of Array, for :—
 Berstrete Sub-leet, 299
 Conesford Leet, 286, 316
 Conesford Sub-leet, 296
 Mancroft Leet, 302, 316
 Over-the-Water Leet, 310-316
 Wymer Leet, 305, 312, 314, 316
 — — — Fire at Norfolk and Norwich Library (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 — — — Holtor in, 309
 — — — Militia in the 14th Century (Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A.), 263-320
 — — — 14th Century View of Arms, 266
 — — — Mancroft Leet, 275, 302
 — — — Organization of a Leet contingent (Conesford), 271, 295
 — — — Over-the-Water Leet, 276, 310
 — — — Wymer Leet, 276, 306
 — — — Social condition, &c., of the Militia men, 265
 — — — Special Commissions of Array, 279
 — — — Summary of Four Leets, 277
 — — — the armour and weapons, 291
 — — — the national obligation to military service, 263
 — — — Old houses removed at (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 — — — Pilgrims' Hall visited (1898 *Report*, i.)
 — — — St. Clement's, Brass at (1514), 259
 — — — St. George Colegate, Brass at (c. 1461), 246
 — — — St. Giles, Brass at (1432), 259
 — — — St. Gregory's Church visited (1900 *Report*, ii.)
 — — — St. John Maddermarket, Brass at (1524), 252
 — — — notes on the Rugge Brass (1568), 63
 — — — St. Margaret, Brass at (1577), 258
 — — — St. Mary Coalany Church visited (1898 *Report*, ii.)

- Norwich St. Mary Coalany, brass (c. 1460)
now lost, 247
— St. Michael Coalany Church visited (1898
Report, i.)
— St. Peter Mancroft Church, Inventories
of (W. H. St. John Hope), 158-240
— Altar Cloths, inventory of, 169-171,
217-220
— — briefly described, 155
— — Banners, cloths, and staves, inven-
tory of, 172, 221, 222
— — Books, inventory of, 156, 187-193
— — Copes and vestments, list of, 157-
162, 195-206
— — Corporasses, canopies, pix cloths.
list of, 168, 169, 213-216
— — Cosyns Chantry, ornaments of, 234,
239
— — Curtains and altar hangings, list of,
169, 216, 217
— — Cushions and pillows, list of, 157,
194, 196
— — Lumber, timber, &c., 174, 175, 227,
228
— — Mitres and crosiers, list of, 171, 172,
221
— — Napery, list of, 173, 174, 222-227
— — Ornaments for the Boy Bishop,
223, 229
— — Palls and carpets, 156, 157, 193-195
— — Silver plate, jewels, and relics, list
of, 163-168, 206-213
— — St. Mary's chapel, ornaments of,
234, 239
— — St. Stephen's, Brass at (c. 1410), 246
— — Brass (1546) to Ela Buttry, 259, 260
— — View of Arms (1855, &c.) 266-279, 295,
302, 316
— — Berestrete Sub-leet, 273-275, 299-301
— — Conesford Leet, 266-273, 295-299
— — Mancroft Leet, 275, 276, 302-304, 316
— — Over-the-Water Leet, 276, 277, 310, 311,
316
— — St. Stephen's Sub-leet, 275
— — St. Peter Mancroft Sub-leet, 275
— — Wymer Leet, 276, 305-310, 312-315, 316
— — Watson's Yard, King Street, photo taken
of old hall there, now pulled down (1898
Report, ii.)
Norwyco, Johannes de, 308
Nosere, Alanus, 309
Notebook, A. of Sir Miles Branthwayt in
1605, by W. Rye, 128-134
Notts Archæological Society visits Lynn
district (1898 *Report*, ii.)
Nuns and vowesses, their coiffures, 257-259
Nuorde, Petrus, 308

Obituary Notes:—

- Back, Mr. Philip (1900 *Report*, iii.)
Boileau, Sir Francis G. M., Bart. (1900
Report, i.)

Obituary Notes:—

- Bolding, Mr. W. J. J. (1899 *Report*, iii.)
Browne, Rev. Canon H. (1899 *Report*, iii.)
Bulwer, J. R., Q.C., (1898 *Report*, v.)
Butcher, Mr. H. F. (1898 *Report*, v.)
Colman, Mr. J. J. (1898 *Report*, v.)
Du Port, Rev. Canon (1898 *Report*, v.)
Eaton, Mr. G. C. (1900 *Report*, iv.)
Howell, Rev. Canon Hinds (1899 *Report*, iii.)
Manning, Rev. Canon (1898 *Report*, iv.)
Nevill, Ven. Archdeacon (1900 *Report*, iii.)
Patteson, Mr. H. S. (1898 *Report*, v.)
Pridgeon, Mr., Lynn (1900 *Report*, iv.)
Vaux, Rev. Bowyer (1898 *Report*, v.)
Watson, Mr. F. E. (1898 *Report*, v.)
Odo, the chaplain, 48
Oldegood, Thomas, 50
Oldsteade Grove, 146
Olton, Gilbertus, 314
Opton, Alexander de, 301
Orford, Earl of, 324, 326
— Earl and Countess of, entertain Members
of this Society at Mannington Hall (1900
Report, iii.)
— Countess of, and sister, portraits at
Mannington Hall, 326
Ormere, Willelmus, 307
Osbern, Adam, 28
Osborne, Eliath., 203
— Robert, 196, 203
Osteler, Johannes, 307
Oulton, Johannes de, 305, 312, 315
Ouse, The Little, 139
Over-the-Water Leet, Norwich, Militia in the
14th Century, 276, 310
Oxford, 332
Oxney, Henry de, 82
— Thomas, 36
Oysel, Walterus, 307

Page, Johannes, 305, 313, 315
Page, Mr. W., presents *The Brasses of St.
Alban's Abbey*, 345
Pgrave, Brass to Anne, wife of Henry (1516),
251, 252
Pakenham, Sir William de, 43
Palfrey, Ricardus, 309
Palgrave Family, Remains of their Seat at
Barningham Northwood, 327
Palmer, C. J., his *Manship's History of Yar-
mouth* referred to, 70
— his *Perlustration* quoted, 79
— Katheryn, married Arnold Roome, 95
— Symon (of Rye), 85
Palmere, Henry le, 44, 50, 54
— Johannes, 320
— Rogerus, 309
— Walter le, 50, 54
Paned (arranged in stripes), 198
Panxford, Willelmus de, 303
Papworth, Richard, 334
Papyngay, Robertus, 295, 297, 318

- Paris head (French hood, &c.), 264
 Parke, Robert, 146
 Parys, John, 26
Paston Letters (Gairdner's edition) quoted, 246, 251, 323
 Paston, Edmund, 323
 — John, 246, 323
 — Margaret, 246, 251, 282
 — widow, extract from will (1506), 323
 Patteson, Mr. H. S., death of (1898 *Report*, v.)
 Paunse de maille (shirt of mail), 292
 Paye, John, 87
 Payn, Johannes, 304, 307, 314
 — Ralph, 51
 — Robert, 26
 — William, 20, 48, 51, 52
 Pays, Johannes, 298
 Paytrek, Johannes, 306
 Peda, a measure of land, 24 ft. by 6 ft., 55
 Pedate (pedata), a measure of land, ($1\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre), 55, 56
 Peddars (The) Way, 137, 138
 Peet (tenement), 17, 48
 Peke, Walterus, 304
 Pekenham, Johannes de, 309
 Pell, John and Margaret, Effigies of (1607), 256
 — Sir Valentine, 330
 Pelle, Willelmus, 303
 Penteneye, Johannes de, 316
 Peny, Johannes, 299
 Pere, Johannes, 305, 312
 Person, Ricardus, 310
 Petrus . . . , 306
 — (serviens), 307, 308, 313, 315
 Petwood, John (Alderman), 198
 Pettwoode, Margaret, brass (1514), 259
 Petyt, Richard, 226
 Peyntour, Bartholomeus, 308
 — Robertus, 308, 309
 Peyte, Ricardus, 297
 Philip, Frescentia, 37, 41
 — Ralph, 36
Philosophical Transactions quoted, 326, 327
 Pigge, Frances, 343
 — John, 343
 Pilcrowe, Edmundus, 313
 Piper, Adam, 299
 Pirled (embroidered with pearls), 205
 Pisan (neck armour), 292
Placitorum Abbreviatio quoted, 43
 Playford, Henricus de, 311
 Pluket, William, 43
 Plomer, Willelmus, 311
 Ploughland, generally 120 acres, 2
 Plowright, Dr., delivers lecture on "Wood" (1900 *Report*, ii.)
 Plukrose, Johannes, 308
 Pole, Robertus de, 316
 Polham, Willelmus de, 307
 Polle, John, 50
 Pollex (pole axe), 294
 Pope, Johannes, 304
 Pope, Ricardus, 300
 — Robertus, 300
 Poringland Heath, 145, 146
 — Hill, 146, 147
 — Mill, 144
 Porland. *See* Poringland
 Ports. *See* Cinque Ports
 Portway Hill, 137
 Port Way (Roman road), 149
 Porynglond, Adam de, 294, 304
 — Ricardus de, 303, 316
 Postle, Elizabeth, 343
 — S., 343
 Potag', Thomas, 297
 Potts Arms at Mannington Hall, 336
 — of Mannington, Pedigree, 322, 323
 — Sir Algernon, 323
 — Anne, 323
 — Sir Charles, 322, 323
 — Dame Elizabeth, 323
 — Frances, 323
 — Mary, 322, 323
 — Susan, 323
 — Ursula, 323
 — James, 323
 — John, 323
 — Sir John, 323
 — Phillip, 323
 — Sir Roger, 323
 — William, 322
 Pouchemaker, Peter, 308
 Prato, William de, 37
 Pratt, Edward, parish constable of Riston and Bexwell, 329, 331, 332, 333, 335
 — Mr., of Riston Hall, extracts from old rate-book for Riston and Bexwell in his possession, 329-340
 Prayer-books ordered to be sent in, 334
 "Prenomination" explained, 82
 Pre-Norman Architecture (Saxon) in Norfolk Churches, 56
 Prentiss, Johannes, 303
 Prentys, Johannes, 309
 Presbytery, Sedilia in the Cathedral, 194
 Pressadved in Angleses, 342
 Prest, Simon, 297
 Preston, Isaac, 343
 — Mary Johanna Farr, 343
 Prestone, Willelmus, 304
 Pridgeon, Mr. (Lynn), Death of (1900 *Report*, iv.)
 Prior of Bromholme, 43
 Priour, Thomas, 48, 51
Provinciales (Lyndwoode) quoted, 228
 Puchemaker, Thomas, 304
 Fulham, Willelmus, 314
 Purdy, R. J. W., elected on Committee (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 — reads paper on Mannington Hall (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 — on Mannington Hall, 321-328
 Purgas. *See* Recipes

- Purpoint (doublet), 292
 Puttok, Richard, 35
 — William, 36
 Pye Road, 147
 Pyk, Thomas, 35
 Pykenham, Robertus, 314
 Pykyng, Johannes, 319

 Queen Anne Boleyn, 254
 — Caroline, portrait at Mannington Hall, 326
 — Jane Seymour, 254
 Quicheret on the word "gorgerette," 242
 Quidenham (Whydenham), 43
 Quilter, Johannes, 306

 Radulfus (serviens), 307, 308, 309
 Ramsy, Roger, 129
 Rastald, John, 21
 Raven, Canon, describes Fressingfield and Wingfield (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 Raveningham, 148
 — Brass at (1488), 249
 Ray (Rayed), stuff woven in stripes, 201
 Recipes, Sundry 16th Century, 130-134
 — for a bloody or other flux, 131
 — for a cough in the lungs, 132
 — for a thorne, 131
 — green sickness, 130
 — a good purge, 131
 — a girdel for the stone, 132
 — pellets for deafness, 133, 134
 — a soluble medicine, 131
 Reder, Johannes, 304
 Redheved, Thomas, 51, 52
 Reed, Roger, 43
 — Willelmus, 305, 313, 316
 Reedham, Brass at (1474), 249
 Reephham, Brass of Cecilia de Kerdeston at, 244
 Reginaldus (serviens), 306
 Registers (St. Mary Coslany, Norwich) to be copied (1898 *Report*, ii.)
Repertorium, Sir Thomas Browne's, quoted, 124
 Reppea, Bartholomew de, 274, 296, 301
 — Johannes de, 301
 Reppe, Sir Henry, married a Fastolf, 68
 Rerebras (arm armour), 292
 Resumption, note as to meaning of, 23
 Reve, Geoffrey le, 49-54, 55
 Revised, The, Catalogue of Norwich City Records, presented to this Society, 345
 Raymond, Stephen, 13, 36
 — Simon, 32, 37, 38, 40
 Reynald, Adam (de Stanton), 50
 Reynold, Beatrix, 37
 Ricardus of y^e Castel, 307
 — (serviens), 299, 306, 307, 309
 Richard (servant of Wm. de Bliburgh), 273
 — son of Geoffrey, 35
 — son of Peter, 32, 37
 — son of Philip, 37

 Richardson, "My sister," 130
 Richer, John, 11, 13, 35, 36, 39
 Ringolf, Willelmus, 306
 Ristel, Alfred, 37
 Riston, 329, 330, 336-340
 Robertus (serviens), 304, 307, 309, 315
 — skepperer, 298
 — ye Cartere, 309
 Robins, Roberte (baker), 69
 Robleyard, Robertus, 297
 Rockellawood, 145
 Rodlond, Henry, 52
 Roger the fisher, 23, 28
 Rogerus (serviens), 307, 309, 310
 Roghay, Johannes, 306
 Rokele, John, 273, 295, 299, 316
 — Thomas, 309
 Rokel, Willelmus, 299
 Roll of Assessment for Armour (Norwich), in—
 Conesford Leet, 316
 Mancroft Leet, 316
 Over-the-Water Leet, 316
 Wymer Leet, 316, 317
 Roman Roads in Norfolk, 148, 149
 Romney, New, reports of Cinque Ports Bailiffs' annual visits to Yarmouth, among records of, 70
 Rookewood, Mr., 129
 Roome, Arnold, 88, 95
 Ropere, Henricus, 306, 315
 — Thomas le, 52
 Roper, Robertus, 300
 Rosemary Tavern (Pilgrims' Hall) visited (1898 *Report*, i.)
 Roxham, 331, 334, 336-340
 Rudge, Edward Batch, 343
 — Mary, 343
 Rudham, East, Discoveries at, 344
 Rugge arms, 65
 — family, Details of, 65
 — Robert and wife, Brass in St. John Maddermarket Church, Norwich (1556) described, 63 *passim*
 Runton, Stubbes' Manor, notes from court rolls read (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 Rushford Bridge, 140
 Rust, Brass to Mary, wife of Robert (1596), 255, 256
 Rust, Galfridus, 305, 306, 313
 — Henry, sen., 51
 — Isabella, 43
 — William, sen., 43
 — William, 43
 — (tenement), 52
 Rutton, Wm. L., F.S.A., Report by the Cinque Ports Bailiffs, after their Visit to Yarmouth Free Fair, 1594, 70
 Ryche, John, 32
 Rye, Mr. Walter, elected delegate at Archaeological Congress, 344
 — his intended bequest to this Society of Norfolk illustrations, 345

- Rye, Mr. Walter, on a notebook of Sir Miles
 Branthwayt (1605), 128-134
 — on Mantelpiece at Fakenham, 341
 Ryngbon, John, 35
 Rys, Willelmus, 235
- S Thomas, 300
 Sadeler 303
 — Gilbertus, 296, 297
St. Alban's Abbey Brasses, presented by Mr.
 W. Page, 345
 St. Edmund, Abbot of, 49
 — Henry de, 43
 — Nicholas de, 43
 — Richard de, 43
 St. John, Mr., 133
 — of Bridlington, Bracket for image of,
 found, 121
 St. Mary Coslany (Norwich), Church visited
 and notes read at (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 — — — registers to be transcribed
 (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 St. Michael Coslany Church (Norwich) visited
 (1898 *Report*, i.)
 St. Peter, Church of (Berdewell), 50, 51
 St. Peter Mancroft. See also under Norwich
 — Church, Norwich, Altars at:—
 — The Holy Trinity, 156, 170, 171
 — St. John, 156, 170, 171
 — St. Nicholas, 156, 170, 171
 — Comparative table of vestments,
 &c., at, 160-162
 — Cosyn's Chantry, Ornaments of,
 234, 239
 — Inventory of Church goods (1552),
 240
 — Ornaments for the Boy Bishop, &c.,
 233, 239
 — Plate formerly at, 163-168, 206-213
 — St. Anne's Guild, 169
 — St. Mary's Chapel, Ornaments of,
 234, 239
 — two 14th Century inventories,
 238-240
 — The Vestries at:—
 The Lower Vestry and its contents, 182-187
 The Upper Vestry and its contents, 176-182
 St. Thomas of Canterbury, his life em-
 broidered on the orphreys of a cope, 160,
 196
 Salle, Bartholomew de, 817
 — Henricus de, 308
 Saltere, Alexander le, 49
 Sappe, Rogerus, 297
 Sarsnet, a silk stuff, 195
 Sawyer, Nicholas, 38
 Saxon or Pre-Norman Architecture in Norfolk
 Churches, 58
 Saxthorpe, 324, 325, 328
 — Church visited (1800 *Report*, iii.)
 — St. Dunstan's Chapel, Site of, 328
 Say, generally thin serge, 194
- Scarlett, Ed., 335
 Scarning Church visited (1898 *Report* iii.)
 Scharwode, Ricardus, 316
 Scherman, Thomas, 303
 Schilling, Johannes, 304
 Schipman, Johannes, 300
 Scole Church, Pre-Norman work at, 58
 Soordy, Ricardus, 308
 Scutage, 22
 Seagrave, Sir Henry de, 327
 "Secreta," Note upon, 33
 Sefrey (tenement), 43
 Seggefords, Gilbertus de, 302
 Sekkere, William, 25
Select Charters (Stubbs) quoted, 263, 267, 269
 Seliman, Isolda, 38
 Selot, Rogerus, 299
 Semels, Geoffrey, 43
 — John, 43
 Semer, Andrew, 27
 Sendell (sandal, cendal), a silk stuff, 195
 "Serviens" (servant or apprentice), 290
 Seven Hills (tumuli), 140
 Sewale, Alys, 37
 — Geoffrey, 32, 35, 303
 — Hugo, 38
 — Richard, 38
 Seymour, Jane (Queen), 254
 Shadwell Park, 140
 Shanke (tenement), 53
 Shardlow, Joan widow of Simon de, takes
 vow of chastity, 257
 Sharington, Andreas de, 306
 Sharpinton, 315
 Sharyngton, 313
 Shedere, Robertus, 308
 Sheep's Pasture (Mannington Hall Map, 1565
 324
 Sheraday, Jacobus, 308
 Shereman, Thomas, 304
 — Willelmus, 309
 Sheringham, Brass (1513) at, 253
 — Church visited (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 Sherman, Mathews, 307
 — Thomas, 330
 — Walterus, 310
 — Willelmus, 310
 Shernbourne, Brass at (1458), 247
 — Jamina, wife of Sir Thomas de, Bram
 (1458), 247
 Shingham, 337, 338, 339, 340
 Shipman, John, 43
 — William, 49
 Shotesham, Brass at (1523), 253
 — Johannes de (jun.), 309
 Shottesham, John of, 167, 210
 Shropham, 7, 23, 24, 27, 28
 — Bradcár Manor in Extent of (1296), 6-10,
 23-32
 — Peter de, 23
 — Roger de, 26
 Sibton, Nicholaus, 308

- Siloum, Letitia, 88
 Silveroun, William, 32
 Siluerount, William, 37
 Silvestre, Stephanus, 305, 306, 313, 315
 Simo (serviens), 304, 309
 Simon, Ernald, 27, 28
 — filius Katherine Flye, 300
 — son of Eliot, 38
 Sirich, Hugo, 371
 Skeet, Domina Alicia, 235
 Skie, William, 270, 295
 Skiet, Robertus, 313
 Skinnere, Ralph le, 18. *See also* Skynnere
 Skip, Nicholaus, 310
 Skip, Thomas, 306, 313, 315
 Skipworth, Edmund, 338
 Skut, Ralph, 38
 — Robertus, 300
 — William, 36
 Skye, Henricus, 296
 — Willelmus, 316
 Skynnere, Thomas, 308. *See also* Skin-
 nere
 — Willelmus, 297
 Sled Close, 144
 Smalbergh, Adam de, 316
 Smale, Roger le, 27
 Smeth, Johannes, 305
 Smith, Mr. (customer), 89
 — Edmundus, 297
 — John, jun., 87
 — Mary, 323
 — Radulfus, 300
 — Reginald, 380
 — Walterus, 272, 297
 Smyth, Jacobus, 306
 — Johannes, 308
 — Reginaldus, 306
 — Willelmus, 300
 Smythson, John, 87
 Snapebridge, 98
 Snare Hill, near Thetford, 139
 Snettisham, Braas at (c. 1570), 255
 — Braas (1610) at, 256
 Smiterton, Nicholaus, 314
 Snoring, braas to Alice de Uvedale (c. 1480)
 at, 245
 — Parva, Norfolk, 341, 342
 Snow, Johannes, 309
 Snyterton, Nicholaus de, 306, 314
 Snyterton, Richard de, 7, 23, 25. *See also*
 Smiterton
 Soldiers, Armed foot, order as to, in Lynn
 Archives, 264
 Sonman, Bartholomeus, 305
 Soneman, Bartholomeus, 314
 Soutere, Thomas, 296, 298
 Southacre, Braas to Katherine Harsick (1864),
 244
 Southery, 332, 337-340
 Southwell, "My Father," 128
 — "My Mother," 129, 130
 Southwell, John, 129
 — Mary, 129
 South Lopham. *See* Lopham, South
 Spanye, Johannes de, 317
 Spark, Thomas, 310
 Spartha (axe), 294
 Spenser, Simon, 306, 319
 Spicer, Clemens, 309
 — Franciscus, 274, 296, 301
 — Johannes, 294, 301, 304
 — Robertus, 310, 320
 — Sir Thomas (priest), 192
 Sporie, Willelmus de, 296, 301
 Spot, William, 49
 Springall, Captain, 334
 Spurla, (Incense ship), 230
 Spynk, Henricus, 302, 304
 — Ricardus, 277, 310
 Stalham, Braas (c. 1450) at, 246
 Staloun, Johannes, 311, 318
 Stalon, Ricardus, 316
 Stamford, Robertus de, 307
 Stanhopp, Lady, 134
 Stanhowe, Thomas de, 306
 Stannard, Thomas, 305, 313, 315
 — Willelmus, 313, 315
 Stanton, Alex. de, 50, 51, 52
 — Alex. le Saltere de, 49
 — Adam Reynold de, 50
 — Alie Brighthwyne de, 50
 — Geoffrey de, 51
 — Kathleen, daughter of Geoffrey de, 44, 51
 — Nicholas de, 49
 — Thomas de, 43, 48
 — William, son of Adam "fabri" de, 49
 — son of Thomas de, 48
 — The Hall of, 51
 Stapleton, Sir Brian, 247
 — Cecilia, Braas (1438) formerly at Ingham,
 247
 — Lady Ela, Braas (c. 1425) at Ingham,
 now lost, 245, 259
 — Elizabeth, 343
 — Joan, Braas (1364), 243
 Starlyngg, Geoffry, 30
 Starlyng, Ricardus, 306, 312, 315
 Stawnton, Henry (bailiff of Yarmouth), 75,
 77, 80, 81, 87, 88, 97
 Stede, Radulfus, 307
 Stedman, Hamond, 343
 — Sarah, 343
 Stephen "ad crucem," 52
 Stephanus (serviens), 305, 306
 Stephenson, Mill, F.S.A., Notes on the
 Palimpsest Braas of R. Rugge, in St.
 John Maddermarket, Norwich, 63
 Stere, Johannes, 310
 Sterre, Johannes, 306
 Steward, Thomas, 140
 "Stile" explained, 93
 Stock, 98. *See also* Stoke
 Stoke, 337, 338, 339, 340

- Stoke, Nicholas de, 296, 301
 — Radulfus de, 299
 — Holy Cross, 140, 143, 144, 146
 — suggestion as to dedication of Church, 147
 Stokesfield, 145
 Stoke Lane, 142, 145
 — Mill, 142, 143, 144
 Stone (The) House, 144
 Stonyland (place name), 53
 Stopham (Sussex), Brass at, 256
 Stotere, Johannes, 307
 — Nicholaus, 296, 297
 Stowe, de, 308
 — MS. 871 (British Museum), a 16th Century Inventory of St. Peter Mancroft Church Goods, 153
 Strete, Thomas atte, 308
 Streit, Willelmus, 301
 Streyt, Walterus, 300
 Stringer, John, 96
 Sturmere, Stephanus, 311
 — Willelmus, de, 316
 Style, Francis, 144, 146
 Subsidy Rolls, Suffolk, 20, 23
 Suckling's *Suffolk* quoted, 68
 Suffolk Archaeological Institute, Meeting of (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 — Subsidy Rolls, 20, 23
 — The Earl of, 299
 Suit, Vestments comprised in, 282
 Surcoat described, 293
 Surlingham, Galfridus de, 317
 — Stephanus de, 316
 — Thomas de, 317
 Surrey, Earl of, his palace, contemplated destruction of (1899 *Report*, ii.)
Surrey Archaeological Collections quoted, 245
 Susanna (widow), 86
Sussex Archaeological Collections quoted, 85
 Swaffham, 332, 333
 Swainsthorpe, 140, 143, 149
 Sweynsthorpe, Johannes de, 310
 Swan, Richard, 87
 Swanton, Johannes de, 310
 — Walterus de, 300
 Swinden's *History of St. Yarmouth*, 73, 82, 88, 90, 97
 Swinefleete, William de, (Archdeacon of Norwich), 226, 257
 Swon, Willelmus, 311
 Swonild, Walter (chaplain), 35
 Swonyld, William, 35
 Swift, Adam, 45
 Syderston, Briefs recorded in register of (1900 *Report*, ii.)
 Syer, Dey, 343
 — Mary, 343
 Symondes, Brass to John, and family (1512), 261, 262
 Symonds, J. (tenement), 17, 44, 45, 48, 51
 Sympeon, John (London), 85
 Syward, Roger, 38
 Taas, The, 142, 144, 146
 Tabbard, Simon (carpenter), 124
 Tables of assessments for parishes in Cuckclose Hundred for the civil war (1646-1649), 337-340
 Tadyman, William, 43
 Tagus Farm, Stoke Holy Cross, 146
 Taillour, Henricus, 301
 — Ricardus, 297, 300
 Taillour, Walterus, 308. *See also* Tailor, Taylor
 Tailor, Johannes, 308
 Takolston, Simon de, 317
 Talbot (tenement), 49
 Talebut, Philip, 25, 28
 Taliour, Hamo, 310. *See also* Taillour, Tailor, Taylor
 — Jacobus, 309
 Talliur, Thomas, 44
 — (tenement), 48
 Tancock, Rev. O. W., 151
 Tasburgh, 136
 — Walter de, 30
 — Willelmus, 309
 Taseburgh, 149
 Tateshale, Sir Robert de, 10, 35
 Tatingtre, John de, 52
 — Robert de, 52
 — Roger de, 53
 — William de, 48, 52
 Tauerner, Willelmus, 302
 Taylor, Arthur, on Roman Ways, 136. *See also* Tailor, Taillour
 Tenement = a holding in manor records, 4
 Terra Asarta = land reclaimed from the waste, 3
 Terry, Cecilia, 26
 — John, 26, 28
 — Walter, 27, 28
Testamenta Vetusta quoted, 262
 Testard, Margaret, 37
 Teteshale, Henricus de, 310
 Thachere, Robert le, 48
 Thaxtere, Ricardus, 297
 Thedryk, Alice, 29
 — John, jun., 28
 — Walter, 26, 28
 Thet, The, 139
 Thetford, 136, 139, 151, 334
 — Town Hall, Threatened re-building of, 344
 — Francis, 128
 Theyn, John, 29, 30
 Thirkeby, Willelmus de, 302
 Thirston, Edmundus de, 304
 — Thomas de, 303
 — Willelmus de, 316
 Thomas of the Pyhtel, 298
 — (servians), 304, 306-309

Thorpe Abbots Church, Pre-Norman work at, 58
 — Joan de, effigy (c. 1420), 245
 Thorpedel, Johannes de, 306, 314
 Thorsby, Arms of, 342
 — Edward, 342
 — Mary, 342
 Three 14th Century Manorial Extents (Rev. W. Hudson, Hon. Ed. Sec.), 1-56
 Thurbald, Johannes, 304
 Thurkild, Robertus, 306, 306, 314
 Thurston, Willelmus de, 308
 Thurton Church, Barrows near, 148
 Thwaytes, Mr. Anthony, 130
 Tillett, E. A., offers to transcribe St. Mary Coalany Registers (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 Tilneye, Johannes de, 303
 Tingey, J. C., on the course of the Ickneild Way in Norfolk, 135-152
 — Mr. J. C. and Rev. W. Hudson complete their Catalogue of City Muniments (1898 *Report*, iii.)
 — Mr. J. C., presents revised Catalogue of Norwich City Records, 345
 Tire (attire), its meaning, 262
 Tirrell, Maud, wife of William de Hewell and Henry Lumner, 322
 Tirrel, Walter, 323
 — William, 322
 — of Mannington Pedigree, 322, 323
 Tirril, Hugh, 323
 — Sir Hugh, 327
 — John, 323
 Tissue, generally cloth of gold or silver, 196
 Toche, Simon, 306
 Toft Monks, 149
 Toftes, Hugo de, 303
 — Johannes de, 296, 297, 320
 Tonstede, Johannes de, 309
 Toogoodes (tenement), 144
 Topcroft, Johannes de, 304, 307
 Toppe, Ralph, 24, 29, 30
 Toppis, Robert (Alderman), 198
 Torald, Johannes, 306
 — Nicholas, 306
 — Thomas, 306
 Totenhill Heath, 334
 Tovel, Thomas, 300
 Tounesende, William atte, 29
 Tournour, Thomas, 308
 — Willelmus, 308
 Townshend, Henry, 129
Town Life in 15th Century (Mrs. Green) quoted, 265
 Trendel, Robert, 24
 Trotter, Galfridus, 316
 Trotton (Sussex), Brass at, 241
 Trowlove, Johannes, 306
 Trows, Thomas de, 274, 296, 299
 Tudenham, Johannes de, 301
 Tut, Willelmus, 307
 Tybenham, 43

Tychnald, Street in Banham, 138
 Tyd, Johannes de, 306
 Tymworth, Peter de, 24, 29
 Ulfketel, John, 32, 37
 Umbreer (part of a basinet), 292
 Underwode, Simon, 15, 36, 40
 — Walterus de, 311
 Unfrey, Albr', 18, 49
 Uphall, 140
 Upton, Johannes de, 313
 Upwell, Brass (1631) at, 257
 Urry, Johannes, 316
 Uvedale, Alice de, Brass (c. 1430), 245
 Valence, Aymer de, 322
 Valiaunt, Willelmus, 309
 Valle Badonia, Alan de, 24
 Vanthras (arm armour), 292
 Vaux, Rev. Bowyer, Death of (1898 *Report*, v.)
 Veer, Hugo le, 23
 Vernall, John, 86
 Vestment, A complete, described, 158
 View of Arms. *See* Norwich
Villainage in England (Vinogradoff), 1, 8, 16, 19
 Vincent, Mr., 334
 Vincentius (serviens), 308
 Vintenarius (officer over twenty men), 273
 Virgate (thirty acres), 2
 Vowess, styled Domina, 259
 — their coiffures, 257-9
 Vowesses, Brasses to, 257-9
 Vyne, Robertus, 297
 Wade, Johannes, 307
 Wakele, Johannes de, 310
 Wakeman, Robertus, 91
 Walcote, Robertus de, 303
 — Robertus de (his servant), 304
 Walder George, 240
 Waleham, Nicholas de, 69
 Walle, Willelmus, 299
 Walpole, Henry (the Martyr), portrait at Mannington Hall, 326
 — Henry (father of the Martyr), portrait at Mannington Hall, 326
 — Horace, portraits at Mannington Hall, 326
 — Horatio (Lord Walpole of Wolterton), 323
 — Lord, of Wolterton, 322, 326
 — Sir Robert, Portrait of, at Mannington Hall, 326
 Walpoole, Norfolk, 335
 Waleham, Adam de Depmer de, 49
 — Rogerus de, 301
 — Willelmus de, 301
 Walsingham, New, Brass at (1509), 251
 — Brass (1540) at, 253
 Walsokene, Petrus de, 308
 Walter 316
 — of Henley quoted (land measures), 56

- Walter (the clerk), 25
 Walterus (clericus), 296, 301
 — (molendinarius), 36
 — (serviens), 304, 308
 Walton, Colonel (Governor of Lynn), 339
 — Dixon, 335
 — Vallentin, 335
 Walworth, William de, 284
 Wande, Henry, 24, 29
 Ward, Johannes, 302
 Warde, Johannes, 303
 — William, jun., 85
 Ware, Johannes de, 296, 300
 Warin (tenement), 48
 Warner, Thomas, 231
 Warren, Hugo, Earl of, 23
 Warryle (serviens), 304
 Warwick, Philippa de Beauchamp takes vow of chastity at, 267
 Watere, Henry atte, 28
 Water, Nicholaus atte, 307
 — William atte, 11, 12, 32
 — See atte Water
 Wathe, Rogerus, 299
 Watson, Mr. F. Elwin, death of (1898 *Report*, v.)
 — Mr. G. A., 342
 — Roger (baker), 69
 Watson's Yard, King Street, Norwich, photograph taken of old Hall pulled down in (1898 *Report*, ii.)
 Wauler, Thomas, Brighthempsted, 95, 96
 Waveney River, *The, did it ever reach the sea via Lowestoft?* 76
 Webbestere, Hugo, 300
 Webbestere, Johannes, 297, 304
 Webb, Mr., 129
 — Mistress, 130
 Webster, Galfridus, 309
 Weerham, 337-340
 Wefle (staff) described, 294, 295
 Welborne, John de (bailiff, Norwich), 290
 — — (two of the name), 280
 Welbourn, Jacobus, 304
 — Johannes de, 302, 303
 — John de, 312
 Welbourne, Johannes de, 315
 Welburn, Johannes de, 305, 320
 — Willelmus de, 306
 Welles, Johannes de, 310
 Wendlowe Close, 145
 Wermergey, 267
 Wermegreie, 265
 Weston, Brass at (1533), 252
 — Johannes de, 306, 313
 — jun., 309
 — Petrus de, 308, 306
 Westrete (Wykes' Manor, Bardwell), 20
 — in Wykes' Manor, 52
 Wet, Willelmus, 301
 Weyborne Priory visited (1899 *Report*, ii.)
 Wheatacre Burgh (Norfolk), 148
 Whiffiers. See Wefle
 Whissonett Churchyard, Cross discovered in, 345
 Whitbred, Walterus, 272, 296
 Whydenham (Quidenham), 43
 Whynburgh, Elizabeth, 251
 Wickhampton, Effigy of lady at, 242
 Widows and Vowesses, their attire, 267-269
 Willelmus de buri, 298
 — de Drayton, 306
 — (gardiner), 299
 — (prepositus), 21
 — (serviens), 303, 307-310
 William the Cobbler, 27
 — the Marshal, 23
 — son of Adam "fabri," 49
 — son of Elmered, 28
 — son of Gilbert, 36
 Willis, John, 87
 — Professor, 111
 Willoughby, Ursula, 323
 — Arms at Mannington Hall, 326
 Wingfield Church and Castle visited (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 Winchelsey, Robert (Archbishop), 228, 229
 Wisbech, 335
 "Wiscatæ" (Cleyæ wiscatæ) explained, 56
 Wissey, The, 137
 Witham, 96
 Witten near Blufield, Brass to a vowess at, 258
 Wimer, Peter, 26
 — Stephen, 27
 Wodecok, Simon, 36
 Wodemau, Alice, 30
 Wodeward, Johannes, 295
 Wolverick, Adam, 83
 Wolverton, Norfolk, 339
 Women, Young unmarried, their head-dress, 260, 261
 Woodbridge, 98
 Woodhouse, Mr., 129
 Woodville, Queen Elisabeth, 243
 Worsted, Ricardus de, 306, 313
 Worstede, Willelmus de, 303, 306, 320
 Wower, Richard le, 26
 — Simon, 87
 Wragg, Leonard (master mason), 106
 Wretton, 337-340
 Wright 129
 Wrighte, Willelmus, 300
 Wryghte, Henricus le, 309
 — Simon, 309
 Wro, Willelmus atte, 304
 Wroxham, Robertus de, 316
 Wulurich, Nicholas, 51
 Wychingham, Johannes de, 310
 Wyecham, Edmundus de, 311
 Wyex (axe), 294
 Wyghton, Simon Neve de, 301
 Wyke, Robertus de, 306

- Wykes, Isabella de, 23
 — Robertus de, 314
 — Willelmus de, 306
 Wykes' Manor, in Bardwell, Suffolk, Extent of, 6, 17-23, 43-56
 — — Customary tenants in 18-22, 49-56
 — — Estrete in, 52, 55
 — — Freeholders in, 17, 18, 43-48, 53
 — — General analysis of, 17-23
 — — Particular analysis of, 43-56
 — — Scutage in, 22, 23
 — — Suit of Court in, 22
 — — Westrete in, 52, 55
 Wyllughby, Margaret, wife of Rauf, Brass to (1483), 249
 Wylton, Alderman, 199
 — Henricus de, 299
 Wymer Leet, Norwich, Militia in 14th Century, 276, 305
 Wymondham, Willelmus de, 230
 Wyn Arms, 342
 — Margaret, 342
 — Rhys, 342
 Wynde, Isabella, 231
 Wynston, Ismayne de, brass (1372), 244
 Wynterton, Johannes de, 310
 Wyote, Geoffrey, 51
 — Stephen, 51
 Yardlye, Paula, 85
 Yarmouth, 98
 — Great, and the Cinque Ports: the Ports Bailiffs' Report after their visit to Yarmouth Free Fair (1594), by William L. Rutton, F.S.A., 70
 — — its beginnings, 71
 — and Gravesend, Table of distances between, 98
 — and Lowestoft, disputes as to Kirkley Road, 73, 74
 — Palmer's *Manship's History of*, referred to, 70
 — branch of this Society visit Framlingham district (1899 *Report*, iii.)
 — — visit Fressingfield and Wingfield (1900 *Report*, iii.)
 Yelverton, Jane, 323
 Yngge, Hamo, 300
 Yonge, Thomas, 297
 Yxforth, Debell, 226
 Yxworth, William, 191

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